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EXTRACTS FROM
REPORT ON ENGLISH
AND
VERNACULAR NEWS
PAPERS
1908

619 — 1049

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Extract from the
Report on English and
Vernacular Newspapers
for the year 1908

Pages 619 to 1049

17th July to 19th Dec 1908

Batch IV

24. A paragraph in the BHARATA BANDHU, of the 17th July (received only on the 10th August) referring to seditionists and the punishments accorded to them, says that persons accused of sedition are generally those who have laboured gladly for the good of the community at large sacrficing all their private interests They are well-educated and respectable people, more intelligent and broad-minded as a rule than the Judges who punish them They work conscientiously and hate ordinary crimes. Unlike common felons who are shunned by every self-respecting man they do not deny the charge but have always a following approving of their actions. There can be no greater folly than to treat them worse than ordinary criminals. But we must console ourselves that these are incidents in the natural course of events.

Seditionists and their punishments.

For the week ending 22nd August, 1908.

No. 34 of 1908.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY NATIVES.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(b' Courts.

1. The HINDU, of the 13th August, remarks:--"We hope we have not heard the last of this extraordinary case. The judgments of Justices Brett and Ryves of the Calcutta High Court have not convinced the public of the guilt of the accused. The enhanced sentence of four years' rigorous imprisonment which these two Judges sitting in appeal have thought fit to pass on the accused--a man of about 60 years of age--is a revolting one even in these days of barbarous sentences. The circumstances under which the two learned Judges came to believe in the alleged offence of his aged man, of having attempted to cause the death of one of two European fellow-passengers in the train are such that no dispassionate mind can admit as in the least probable. With all deference to the two Judges, we are firmly of the opinion that their judgments, so far as we have seen of

The Darjeeling mail assault case.

them, are a lamentable travesty of facts and inferences.

"Considering the position of the accused in life, regarding which nothing adverse has been said except his misfortunes and family bereavements, there is no reason why the story of the accused should be so totally disbelieved. If ever the circumstances of a case pointed to the innocence of the accused, it was in this case; and yet the Judges have awarded an enhanced sentence of four years' rigorous imprisonment. We deplore their decision. We cannot but think that there has been a most lamentable miscarriage of justice in this case. At the worst the accused was entitled to the benefits of doubt. The judgment would prove a grave judicial scandal, if the monstrous sentence which could not possibly be reversed now be not at once remitted by the Government."

2. The INDIAN PATRIOT, of the 13th August, writes:-

The Bezwada sedition case.

Since the paper (the SWARAJ) that had died so early and since the men responsible for it were youths just aspiring to dabble in journalism, perhaps it would have been infinitely better if no prosecution had been launched by the Government. It is certain that they did no harm, and could possibly do no harm except to themselves. And now that they have apologised to the Government and promised not to do it again, we hope that the Government may be inclined to forgive them and stop further proceedings. Not only have the accused themselves apologised, but the townsmen of Bezwada also, we understand, have submitted a memorial to the Government praying that the two young men may be pardoned; and we have no doubt that the Government will be doing a very gracious and merficul act by granting the prayer and allowing the young men the opportunity of retrieving themselves. Mistakes of youth should not be made to mar their whole career, as they must do if they are punished by a criminal court; and we understand that the relations of the youths themselves are prepared to give an undertaking for their future good conduct. In these circumstances, it does not

seem necessary for the Government to take any serious view of the conduct of the young men. By their arrest and prosecution they have had sufficient warning; and they are not likely to forget their experience. The object, therefore, of Government to discourage the effect of a bad example on thoughtless young men, has been accomplished; and we believe that it will be in consonance with the general public feeling if the Government do the gracious act of granting them a pardon, seeing that they expressed their contrition even before the proceedings had commenced in court. Moreover, Harisarvothama Rao's connection with the publication of the articles is doubtful; for his name appears to have been more valued than his literary contributions, and his name itself was withdrawn before the paper had seen the end of its short existence."

The Madras sedition case.

3. The MADRAS STANDARD, of the 20th August, writes:--"There are certain circumstances connected with the case against Mr.Ethiraj Surendranath Arya which call for comment. Counsel for the prosecution said that the case was a simple and straightforward one. This is undoubtedly the case, if the portions of the speech taken down by the Police witnesses were accurate reproductions of what the accused said and were not modified in any way by what he said before or after. We do not see why the Police authorities should not have deputed a competent shorthand-writer to take down the whole of the speeches delivered by Mr.Arya, Surely this could easily have been done. The accused said that he entertained no ill-will against Government or against any class of His Majesty 's subjects. In this connection, the evidence of Mr.Larsen is very important. It is no secret that many a Hindu young man has opened his heart to Mr.Larsen, and it is very improbable, to say the least, that Mr.Arya could have, after five years of intimacy with Mr.Larsen hidden his political prepossession from him. It should also be remembered in this connection that Mr,Larsen is not a 'Britisher' and the

accused could have no motive in hiding his views from Mr. Larsen, even if such a thing were possible with his warm and impulsive nature. We may be permitted to say that His ~~Majesty~~ Lordship throughout the trial treated the accused with much courtesy and heard the case with great fairness and impartiality. At the instance of the Government counsel for the prosecution asked for exemplary punishment in the case. Five years' transportation, however, considering the youth and inexperience of the accused and the surrounding circumstances, is severe indeed.".

(k) General.

The present state of affairs

4. A correspondent writes to the INDIAN PATRIOT, of the 19th August, as follows:--"There is to-day no subject that more engages the attention of the civilised world than that of 'Unrest in India'; Take any newspaper, magazine or journal, be it from any part of the world, there you find something printed in bold types, about the discontented Indians and the attitude of their Rulers towards them. Attend any debtaing society or a public functions, you may note that the topic finds a place--and prominently too--in its proceedings. Travel in any omnibus, a railway or tramcar, a hackney coach or a country cart, surely you could not but have your attention dragged on to the same matter. Anarchism and bomb throwing, searches in editorial chambers and press rooms, arrests of journalists and confiscations of presses, interdiction of public meetings and prosecution of preachers--these are the news that pierce through our ears. In spite of successive campaigns of prosecutions instituted by the Government and repressive measures passed by the Legislative authorities men fearlessly go about the country and appeal to the people at large to respond to the roll-call of duty to their mother country. Even boys, who have hardly emerged out of their teens, appear on the platforms and harangue on politics. The Hindu sanyasis too, who are universally known

to be meditating in solicitude, pondering over the illusion of this worddly existence with an indifference to good or bad, caring not whether Rama rules or Ravana reigns and practicising non-attachment to external things, have come out with new explanations of life and exhort the public to do their duty towards the country in the light of the esoteric meaning of Gita and some of them, overzealous of this new principle, have adopted destructive means in the name of discharge of their duty. Seditious leaflets, describing bomb manufacturing, are secretly circulated by unknown hands. Anonymous letters and cards, threatening to take away the lives of the chosen few, are received by post. Strikes and riots are commonplace incidences. Wherever men gongregate in handful or hundred, there we may read in their faces, signs of greaning under some mental heaviness. The masses murmur that the prices of foodstuffs have risen too high. The educated men who are destined to quill-driving dex complain of their low pay and a costly life. Famine has taken a perpetual lease of the land. Diseases, unheard of in India, have made a permanent settlement in it. The economic condition of the people is far from satisfactory. The Indians have contracted an addiction to luxuries foreign to them, without strengthening internally the resources that could keep them and the new modes of life. In such a stage as this a new spirit for freedom has sprung up throughout and this is recognised by the highest authorities in politics. A few Englishmen have taken pains to ascertain and get first-hand information and they have proclaimed fox from the house-tops that the natives of India have real grievances to get redressed. To deny these facts is to deny one's own existence itself. We must rather try to realise the grave situation in which the country is placed than evade facing it by a negation of the actual state of affairs. It is the duty of every person who is interested in the welfare of this vast country containing three hundred millions of souls a to calmly trace the cause of this disturbance of equilibrium and find out means to restore it to the normal position. It is incumbent on the people as well

as on those who could command them to co-operate with each other and bring about peace and satisfaction. It is true that the Indian political atmosphere is surcharged with disturbing elements, but yet it is not beyond our hope to expect a change for the better provided that the Government and the people meet half way at least."

IV. NATIVE STATES.

6. The WEDNESDAY REVIEW, of the 12th August, remarks:--

The Mysore Press Bill.

"We are not in a position to judge if the charges brought against the press in Mysore at the discussion of the Press Bill were really deserved or not, as we have seldom the opportunity to read the papers published in that province. It cannot be that the Honourable Members of the Council who were so unanimous in blessing the measure, conspired to run down the press in Mysore and used the occasion to pay off old scores, if any. The fact cannot be ignored that even independent non-official members joined the official majority in condemning what they called the excesses committed by the newspapers and we have no reason to think that they were one and all maliciously inclined towards them. It is quite likely that the criticisms levelled against the Government of His Highness often times pass fair bounds and as a defensive measure the Darbar was compelled to bring in a stringent Bill. Mr.Madhava Rao contended that the imputation of motives to Government and its officers, the criticism of British officers and the refusal of an editor to receive facts, though asked to do so, were all so many incidents that tended to the necessity of a Press law in Mysore. These are all grave charges, especially the last one, that an editor in Mysore refused to receive facts. If an editor would persist in misrepresentations against the Government and declined to found his criticisms upon facts supplied to him, it is surely an abuse of his valuable influence and power, for which there can be no justification. But in dealing with a particular

editor or editors, it must be remembered that the step taken ought not to be such as would kill all journalistic enterprise in the province and reduce the existing papers to the level of official gazettes. If an independent press is a necessity in British India, it is more so in a Native State, where in spite of the assurances to the contrary by Mr.Madhava Rao and his colleagues, an editor has to guard against the encroachments of the Diwan or of the British representatives on the rights and prerogatives of the Ruling Chief. It was officially acknowledged by Lord Morley that there should be more autonomy in the Native States than is the case at present and it means that the Ruling princes are not given as free a hand in the management of their affairs as is their right to have. In the face of this declaration it is idle to contend, as was done by Mr.Madhava Rao and his colleagues, that the Maharaja is solely responsible for all the acts done in his name and on his behalf and any suggestion to the contrary is LESE MAJESTE. We wish it were so, but we are aware that the fact is otherwise. Not only for the good of the State but also of the Chief, it is absolutely essential to have a free and independent press which will have the courage to call a spade a spade. The absence of such a press, though it may afford a temporary relief to thin-skinned and over-sensitive officials, will be a grave danger to the State in the long run and the Chief as well as his subjects will suffer equally. We cannot help feeling that the recent action of the Mysore Government is extremely short-sighted and in their endeavour to cure a small evil that might exist, they have practically tolled the knell of an important and valuable factor in the administration of the State. In some respects the clauses regarding banishment of offending editors and confiscation of their printing presses are much more stringent than those of the recent enactment of the Government of India and unless in the light of public opinion, Mr.Madhava Rao is prepared to amend the Act on sensible lines, his stewardship of Mysore would be permanently marred by a hasty and ill-advised measure."

VI. MISCELLANEOUS.

The next congress.

7. The MADRAS STANDARD, of the 15th August, writes:--"Since we wrote last on the question of holding the Congress this year we have come to know that some of the Congressmen in this part of the country are for reorganising the Congress almost immediately. The belief seems to be gaining ground that if this year too there is to be no Congress, the Congress may be said to have disappeared altogether. So far as we are aware nothing stands in the way. If Congressmen are sufficiently earnest, even within the short time at their disposal the Congress can be held in December next. But if a Congress is to be held at all it must be on the lines laid down by the Committee of the Surat Convention. The scheme prepared by that body is the only one now before the country. It is the only feasible plan that we are aware of. We are told that there are still some gentlemen who object to what is called the creed of the Congress. If it is really a case of conscience, practical Congressmen, cannot hope to enlist the co-operation of these dissentient Congressmen. But we see nothing in the creed itself to which any politician can take exception. The Convention has done nothing extraordinary which by its startling novelty has caused bewilderment and confusion. We are of opinion that the Surat Convention did the right thing in laying down the general principles to which assent must be secured before a programme of work could be arranged. On a number of occasions we have in these columns cited the example of deliberative assemblies like the British Parliament and public bodies generally holding it incumbent on their members making certain declarations before they could exercise the privileges of membership. We have referred to the National Liberal Federation in England, and to the organisations of the Labour party on former occasions. If these instances cannot convince those of the Congressmen who object to the creed, nothing will; and if the Congress were to wait for their conversion, it may either wait in vain or wait so long that the opportunity itself for doing work will have passed away. But we are firmly persuaded by is a necessity and that the next Congress should be held

on the basis furnished by it. (It may be said that the next Congress is held in December next it will not be so successful as any of the previous Congresses.) We do not know what is meant by success. If the weight and gravity of the deliberations and the position of those who take part in it constitute the main elements of success, the next Congress, if it is held in the ensuing December, will be as successful as, or perhaps more successful than, any of its predecessors. The question is one of earnest work and firm resolution and adhesion to a faith. We trust that all these virtues will be found in the responsible section of the Indian Congressmen and that they will put their heads together and hold a Congress this year."

Politics in schools.

8. The INDIAN PATRIOT, of the 18th August, writes:--"Can students escape politics, is the question that is asked generally, and perhaps the true answer would be that in India at the present day they can never escape it. Every one will condemn his taking part in it, no doubt, and rightly enough, because as a student his first duty is certainly to devote his time to his studies. He is a student and nothing more, and he ought to realise that he must acquire knowledge before he can speak with any authority, but can he, political atmosphere in India being what it is escape politics? When, for instance, he hears newspapers prosecuted for sedition, and public speakers arrested and hauled up; when they are treated to columns of newspaper matter every day who are thus hauled up, it will be ridiculous to say that young blood would pass it by and never pause to take notice of it. The Bengal Government have realised the danger of these frequent prosecutions, and the great noise they generally make; and a Calcutta telegram that appeared in our columns yesterday stated that, in the opinion of that Government, 'it is spreading discontent to republish incriminating articles in a sedition trial, even if it be the true report of the proceedings of a case. The publication of the court's judgment in a sedition

trial containing the condemned article or passages from it is also forbidden.' There is a good deal of meaning in that order of the Bengal Government, and we hope ere long the Government would grow a bit wiser and find out that it is spreading discontent to prosecute irresponsible men and thus give ground for a good deal of noise to be made. Whatever it is there is the fact that there is a goodx deal of what is generally uhderstood by (politics' to be found every day, and very thrilling news sometimes; and students could not help hearing of them, and, in the case of advanced students, forming their own opinion, and in the case of the younger to take in the opinion of others. The Hon'ble Nawab Mushtaxq Hussain, Vikar-ul-Mulk writing to the ALIGARH INSTITUTE GAZETTE seeks to justify the permission he gave to his students to take part ak in political debates by saying that the student cannot escape politics at the present day just in the same way as a xxx man standing in the open field escape the impact of the winds that blow over him.

A notable speech.

10. The INDIAN PATRIOT? of the 19th Augst, writes:--"It is a notable speech that Sir John Hewett delivered the other day to an influential audience. It takes rank above ordinary utterances of the kind in its insight, comprehensiveness, and a due appreciation of the difficulties which confront both the Government and the governed. There is the maximum of reason and persuasiveness in his utterance, combined with a xlxi calm firmness worthy of admiration. He explained the Government's point of view in detail, and most intelligent people will be disposed to accept that view as justified by the circumstances. The appearance of anarchism and bomb hadd as much startled the people at large as it has startled the Government; and it has been accompanied by pamphlets, leaflets, placards, and preachings of sorts, all having the same tendency and pointing to the same purpose. In the face of such a

phenomenon, the Government's duty is clear; it ~~is~~ cannot sit quiet; it cannot permit the movement to spread; it is bound to nip it in the bud. In the ~~xxxx xxx~~ performances of that duty, moreover, it expects all classes of people to help it so far as they can. The maintenance of peace and order being the primary duty of any Government, it cannot help doing all that it lawfully can towards that end. That in brief is the position which Sir John Hewett set forth. He is anxious to avoid needless annoynace to peaceful people, but where such annoyance is unavoidable owing to the peculiar difficulties of the situation, it has to be permitted, though reluctantly, in order to check an insidious crime before it can spread. The Government cannot control all its agents in the way they desire. Excess of zeal and proneness to hasty action are as natural in Government servants as in others; and dependence on the police for information of every kind is not always conducive to correct judgment of men. But the fact that the ~~xxx~~ Lieutenant-Governor himself ~~xxx~~ has been personally looking into the circumstances of every fruitless house-search which has been conducted by the police must reassure the public that the police cannot act altogether in an irresponsible way, and that the fear of scrutiny by the head of the Government himself must make them cautious, if not considerate, in the invasion of private houses.

There can be no doubt that a number of youths have been turned into vagabonds without any idea of their future, and to their parents they cause immense misery. Those who so misled youths feel no responsibility, but abandon them to their fate. It may be hoped that the fear of punishment, which some of them have not escaped, will have an educative influence. In any case, the Lieutenant-Governor's speech is well calculated to inspire confidence in his Government and impress people with the firmness of his attitude, a just and right attitude in every way."

11. The INDIAN PATRIOT, of the 20th August, remarks:--"A police witness examined at the Sessions trial for sedition the other day said that he did not take down the entire speech but only important portion of it. 'What is your idea of importance ? queried his lorship. The reply was: 'anything said against Government I would record.' To a further question he admitted that he did not take down anything said in favour of Government. Now this is a very serious matter that police officials, upon whose report men are indicted for such a grave offence as sedition, should be incapable of reporting a whole speech, or of even furnishing an intelligent summary of it; and that what they consider 'important', should alone form the basis of a charge. Nor even shorthand reporters who profess to take down a whole speech, made in English, can claim accuracy for their reports; and every public speaker knows how much a speech is twisted by unskilful hands at shorthand reporting. None but a practised hand, capable of following speeches made at full speed, can take down a speech with tolerable accuracy; and in order to summarise a speech without distorting the views and language of a speaker required not only a respectable knowledge of the English language, but a fair acquaintance with the subject itself. The newspapers ordinarily command the services of the best reporters, but even newspapers at times publish misleading reports, and every public speaker who has trusted himself to reporters will be able to say how much he has been misreported. ~~That being the case, it is rather say how much he has been misreported.~~ That being the case it is rather difficult to believe that police officials, who for the first time put their hand to reporting work, can claim much accuracy either as regards language or as regards sense. Many of these police reporters are not well educated men, and their knowledge of English is meagre. Yet these people have not merely to report speeches as they are made, but both to translate with their mind and report with their hand what is spoken in a different language.

Reporting of speeches.

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

I. FOREIGN POLITICS.

13. The BHARATHI, of the 21st August, says:--The Transvaal Government in order to put off the granting of certain privileges to the Indians, has been making false promises from time to time. Mr.Gandhi's son has been sentenced to one month's rigorous imprisonment. Does not the world seem to think that the Indians exist only to be deceived by other people or confined in prison like a flock of sheep?"

Indians in the Transvaal

II. HOME ADMIINISTRATION.

(b) Courts.

16. With reference to the punishment of five years' transportation inflicted on Surendranath Arya by Justice Miller, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 18th August, remarks:--From the impartial way in which Justice Miller summed up this case to the jury, none expected that he would pass such a severe sentence upon the accused. Perhaps this is the result of the request of Mr. Osborne on behalf of the Crown that an exemplary sentence should be passed in this case. Whatever may be the cause of it, one must admit that the punishment is too severe when compared with the offence proved to have been committed. These very words of Mr.Arya would never have been taken notice of but for the fact that the Government is now the victim of an unnecessary alarm and as a result of this alarm even he has been deemed to be a rank seditionist and a cruel punishment has been inflicted upon him. Pity indeed!

The conviction of Mr.Arya.

18. The VRITTANTA CHINTAMONY, of the 15th August, observes that an attempt was made by a Railway Sub-Inspector (?) to outrage the modesty of a young girl of 14, the wife of the Station-

A Railway assault case.

master at Nari in Sibi district, and that the accused was sentenced to pay a fine of Rs.250, and says that if a similar offence had been committed by a native against a European lady, we may easily guess what the punishment would have been.

(k) General.

19. The YADARTHAVACHANI, of the 15th August, observes:--

The recent prosecutions for sedition.

It is patent from these prosecutions that the Government is now actuated more by a sense of fear than a desire to restore peace in the land. These prosecutions have only helped to bring into prominence many persons whose names were not heard of till now, and to enable many, who were nonentities till now, to pose as great men and patriots. No doubt it is necessary to punish real seditionists to preserve the peace in the land; but it regrettable that the Government should aim its arrows at insignificant school-boys and silly youngsters.

20. Wither reference to the recent repressive measures of the Government the NYAYABHIMANI, of the 10th August, observes:-

The recent repressive measures of the Government

The Government has been inflicting punishments of death, transportation and rigorous imprisonment upon many persons with the aim of suppressing sedition in India. It is with this aim that it has punished Chidambaram Pillai and ~~thanex~~ Subramania Siva of Tuticorin with transportation for life. What offences did these commit? In Siva's words at least, there were references to the Government. Was there any such thing in the speeches of Chidambaram Pillai? Then again Aravinda Ghosh was arrested in connection with the bomb outrages when there was no evidence at all against him, and it has been manufactured subsequently. The editor of the KAL has been imprisoned for having uttered words of patriotism. Bal Gangadhar Tilak has been convicted by an imperfect and inimical European jury after the farce of a

trial and secretly removed to the Ahmedabad Jail. Can these measures have the effect of changing the Indians into loyalists? On the other hand, these will only embolden them to stand forward as seditonists. The result of this will also be to give an impetus to the growth of the SWADESHI movement and the success of this movement implies a change of the Government. Those who are now in the position of Judges and who exercise their authority most arbitrarily will then become the accused and this is just what happened in Turkey. With regard to the execution of Kudiram Bose we do not think that the authorities who have rejected his appeal for mercy conscientiously believe him to be guilty, because the facts of the case clearly prove that it must have been Dinachandar Roy who threw the bomb. Then again is it justice to execute him even without giving him permission to appeal to His Majesty King Edward? The Emperor might have pardoned him, perhaps, if he had appealed and now that he has been executed, who will be responsible for this? It is unfortunate that the British Government should have appointed such unwise and hot-headed men as the officials in India.

The Bombay riots and the Government.

21. The INDIA, of the 15th August, observes:--Now that all disturbances have ceased at Bombay, we are in a position to take a calm view of the situation. The mill-hands of Bombay honestly believed that Mr.Tilak had been unjustly punished and wanted to show their sympathy for him by observing mourning for some days. This implied only some loss to themselves and no harm to the Government. Such strikes are common all over the world and neither in England nor in any other European country are the strikers shot down by the military. There was a serious riot among workmen in Paris in July this year, with the result that about 69 soldiers happened to be slain or wounded. There was a formal trial of the rioters subsequently

and they were punished with imprisonments ranging from one week to four months. But in Bombay no material harm was done to the military by the rioters and yet about thirty of the latter have been shot down and the rest have been punished with one year's rigorous impriso nment! What a difference between Bombay and Paris!

The cost of the sedition cases

22. The KESARI, of the 19th August, observes:--The amount paid bythe Government till now to the Vakils and Barristers who appeared for the prosecution in sedition cases is calculated to be nearly ten lakhs of rupees, and all this is the money earned by the Indian public by the sweat of their labour! It would be some consolation if it were spent for some good purpose at least!

An intended Royal Proclamation in November next

23. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 19th August, writes:--Whatever may be the causes that led to the great Indian Mutiny of 1857 the main reason seems to have been the way in which the British Government was conducted till then. Therefore the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 which was issued soon after and which not only expressed sympathy with the people for the loss of life and property among them, but also solemnly promised equal privileges to the Indians with the other British subjects, served to allay the discontent in the country and restore confidence in the minds of the people. Though it is now fifty years since this Proclamation was issued, the promises contained in it have not been fulfilled. Certain British statesmen like Lord Curzon even go to the extent of saying that it was only a document issued to suit the times and that the promises contained in it were never intended to be fulfilled. All this has again created a feeling of discontent in the minds of the people. Though Lord Morley has openly dissociated himself fromthe views

of Lord Curzon, much has not been done in practice till now tochange the popular impression. So to restore peace and confidence in the land, it seems Lord Morley intends holding a Darbar and issuing another Proclamation in November next, containing all the reforms that are to be introduced in the constitution of the Government of India. If this is true, it reflect much credit indeed upon the statesmanship of Lord Morley. Our only doubt is whether the officials in India will allow him to ~~xxx x~~ take such a wise step.

"Prevention of sedition"

24. Referring to the article of Mr.Ramdas Pantulu, B.A., B.L. the Cocanada correspondent to the KISTNAPATRIKA, of the 16th August, observes:- This pleader says, "There is not sufficient independence for the people in the administration of the country". How much of it is there then? Does it exist in levying taxes or in making laws, or in spending the taxes collected? No. No, It is, perhaps, in the collection of taxes. Is it this opinion that it is the first step to the fortress of independence? Taluk Boards, District Boards, Municipalities, Legislative Councils--are not all these the next higher steps." Do not all these combined together form independence completely? Can Mr.Ramdas say that SWADESHISM, boycott, panchayats, etc., do not contribute to secure independence? Does he dare say that they are prejudicial to progress at present and that they check the growth of society? He says there must be peace in the country How are we to secure it? Does he approve of the present repressive measures of the Government? Is it not our duty to criticise the repressive measures of the Government and inform ~~out duty~~ ~~xx xx xxxx xx xxxxx~~ them that such measures will not be ~~xxxx~~ useful for establishing the peace advocated by him? Further, it seems that he advises to help the Government in their repressive measures. If he does not so advise, but would admit that ~~xx~~ the repressive measures of the Government should be criticised, then he would have to do what Bal Gangadhar Tilak has done? He might also be subject to punishment like Tilak then. Therefore I hope that the readers of the KISTNAPATRIKA will enlighten us as to our present duty.

IV. NATIVE STATES.

The New Press legislation in Mysore.

28. Commenting on the new Press law in Mysore the JAGADGURU, of the 9th August, observes:--In passing a new measure, it is natural enough to expect the official members to side with the Government. But how could the non-official members who are to stand by the rights and liberties of the people so easily shake off their responsibility by readily giving their assent to the measure without raising a word of objection? It is true that protests are useless when the Government is determined to pass a new measure. But the Government without placing such dangerous powers in the hands of the minor officials of the Police, could exercise as much control over the Press, by substituting "Inspector " for "Sub-Inspector" in the BILL. Again, is not deportation in itself a punishment heavy enough under the Act? Is it necessary also to confiscate the press and thus deprive the offender's wife and children of their means of subsistence? Would it not be better to send the offender's family also to jail?

Referring to the same subject the BHARATHI, of the 14th August, observes:--To err is human; and Go ernment officials who are, after all, only human beings, are also liable to err at times. But there are some officials who, instead of feeling thankful to their critics, get irritated over criticisms against them. If these officials should have the power to punish newspapers, the fate of these papers is sealed and the new law is formidable weapon in the hands of such officials. They are the persons who can put any construction upon the articles in the newspapers to bring the owners of those papers to grief. They are the complainants, they are the counsel and they are the Judges. There is no trial and no show of justice. This legislation is altogether without a parallel in the country. It would have been better if His Highness the Maharaja had waited to see what the public had to say before giving his assent to the Act.

Referring to the same subject the same paper in another article observes:--According to the new law, newspapers are prohibi-

ted from criticising the actions of Government officials. From the Diwan down to the sweeper, all persons in Government employ may be said to represent the Government and to criticise the actions of any one of these would be an offence. However seriously these officials may err in the performance of their work, the people as well as the newspapers, which claim to be the exponents of public opinion, have to keep silent; or they must be prepared to leave the country. Is it not the duty of the people under these circumstances to see that the liberty of the Press is not altogether lost? It is hoped that the newspapers will never stoop to base flattering and acquiescence in every blunder committed by the authorities. Our ancestors never hesitated to sacrifice even their life to save their honour. It remains to be seen whether in the future newspaper-owners will prefer to lose their honour for the safety of their lives.

The new Press law of Mysore

29. Commenting upon the new Press law in Mysore , the NADEGANNADI, of the 15th August, observes that the inhabitants of Mysore have been a most loyal class of people, and unlike those of the British territories have never shown a distrustful or defiant attitude towards Govt. Newspapers have the function of educating the public in the affairs of their every-day life, and it is foolish to expect that the country will be in any way improved by gagging them and checking their criticisms. Hitherto it was supposed that the Native States were much better (to live in) in many respects than even the British territories, but now the latter may be said to be a thousand times better than the former. Mysore which had earned the name of a MODEL state has passed a law which has caused regret to the whole of India. It is hoped that the Press law will soon be dropped and the Press will be given the same liberty as in the British territories. Else, several newspapers, will have to be stopped.

Commenting on the new Press law, in Mysore, the SWADESABHIMANI, of the 16th August, observes:-- The new Press in Mysore is

altogether unwarranted by the political situation in the State, There has not been the slightest disturbance of the public peace nor was there any attempt to create disaffection between class and class or against Government. Under these circumstances, it is highly deplorable that the Mysore Government, in spite of public protests, should have passed a law which prescribes the summary deportation of offenders under it and the privilege of trial allowed even to burglars and murderers is denied to them.
If newspapers should thus be prohibited from doing their legitimate work of pointing out the shortcomings in the administration and urging measures conducive to popular welfare, will they not starve in future for lack of matter? Because of few rash and foolhardy youths aided by a handful of equally senseless and short-sighted men made some highly inflammatory speeches, and committed some wicked acts, the Anglo-Indian newspapers imagined that sedition was rampant in the country, and urged the passing of a new Press Act. But the Indians are all the same grateful to the British who rescued them from the hands of tyrants and free-booters and established peace and safety in the land. Now, however owing to rapid advances in science and civilization in the West, the decay of Indian industries and commerce, the ever-recurring famines and epidemics such as plague, there is some discontent in the land and the present agitation is no more than a constant prayer to the authorities to change the existing methods of administration so as to remove those grievances. There is, in fact, no sedition in the land. But the loud declamations by newspapers, before an alien Government ignorant of the real disposition of the subjects, have been mistaken for sedition and the British authorities have passed laws to stamp out such sedition. His Highness the Maharaja, knowing well the nature and grievances of the Indian people, should have pointed out the real causes of discontent to the British Government. His Highness should have realised his own responsibility to the people at least while passing a Press law in his own State.

VI. MISCELLANEOUS.

The Mahajana Sabha and the Provincial Conference.

31. With reference to the decision of the Madras Mahajana Sabha not to hold the Provincial Conference this year, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 15th August, writes:--Perhaps the members of this Sabha are averse to the holding of the Conference this year on the ground that, in case it is held, they will naturally have to discuss about the cruel punishments recently inflicted in cases of sedition which may not be very palatable to the Government But what if it is not liked by the Government? Which act of our is liked by the Government? If this Sabah is prepared to do only such things as are approved by the Government,,it will have no work to do and it can as well cease to exist. It may be that certain people always talk and write in a seditious strain; but it cannot be concluded from this that all people are seditionists. Perhaps the decision of Mr.Pinhey that SWADESHI, boycott and SWARAJ denoted sedition influenced the members of this Sabha in coming to this conclusion. But the decision of Mr.Pinhey is not a final one and it stands every chance of being modified by the High Court. Even if it is not changed by the High Court, it is the duty of this association to protest against the interpretation of Mr.Pinhey; and, therefore, it does not become a representative associationlike this to seal its lips just now, implying thereby that it agrees with the opinion of Mr.Pinhey, It is a consolation indeed, at this juncture, that our leaders in Bengal and Bombay at least have not been frightened by the recent events.

Why should not India have a representative Government?

32. The NYAYABHIMANI, of the 10th August, writes:--When the Sultan of Turkey, the premier Muhammadan State in the world, has granted a representative form of Government within his Empire, who will say that it is wrong to claim a representative Government for India whose people have, from a long time, been held down and controlled by another race? At best, it can only

be argued that it is impossible to establish a representative form of Government under the Englishmen. A representative Government is sought for in Egypt as well as in Persia. In Russia too it is the same case. How does India differ from these countries, unless it be that this is a conquered country while the others are all absolute monarchies? The Government of India has come to be a despotic monarchy though Britain to which it is subject is the seat of a representative form of Government? Perhaps the British have divided their Empire into two parts, having Britain for purposes of Government and setting apart India as a play ground for their mischievous pranks! Perhaps the aim of the English is not to relinquish the grandeur of a despotic rule whatever may be the inconvenience caused by it to their subjects! If this is so, we can only say that the Englishmen will soon have to share the fate of the many tyrannical rulers in the past. The discussions in the British Parliament seem more to be the feats of professional jugglers and we do not know if the results of these discussions are to be as devoid of reality as the articles of a juggler. But our people should not forget the proverb "Those who persevere will never be disgraced."

Mr.Stone and a student of the Christian College.

33. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 18th August, says:--It appears there was a meeting of the History Students' Union of the Christian College with Mr.J.H.Stone in the chair, when a student of the senior B.A. class read a paper on the French Revolution. In the course of his address, he seems to have said: "The days of benevolent despotism are gone--in France, of course," Mr.Stone at once appears to have objected to the use of the phrase "In France, of course" and would not ~~have objected to the use of~~ [be satisfied even when] the student proffered to withdraw his statement. Not content with suddenly having left the meeting, he seems to have addressed the Committee of the college on the matter and informed them that, if they did not take any steps in the affair, he would report it to the higher authorities. This terrified the members of the

Committee and theyat once fined the boy Rs.10 and also asked the History Students' Union to apologise to Mr.Stone. If all this is true, it does not reflect much credit either on Mr.Stone or on the Committee of the Christian College. It is evident that by the phrase "In France, of course," Mr.Stone understood the student to state that the benevolent despotism has not yet ceased in India. We know that a benevolent despotism still continues to be the form of the Government in countries like Russia, Persia and Turkey and such being the case, how is Mr.Stone justified in ass ming that the student referred only to India. Even if it referred to India alone, how would it affect either the students or the Government? Perhaps Mr.Stone wants our students to proclaim that it is not a despotism, but a representative Government, that India has at present!

SWADESHI as it is and as it should be.

35. The KESARI, of the 19th August, observes:--The SWADESHI that we practise now must be considered to be only a half-hearted attempt at SWADESHI since it is only the cloths that are now made in India, the yarn for making them being imported from England and other countries. So the cloths which are now called SWADESHI are SWADESHI only in weaving, but PARADESHI in the manufacture of the yarn. It is wrong for us to be content with the fact that the weaving at least is done by our people; because as our SWADESHI efforts increase, our weaving factories are also bound to increase, and then we may require a greater quantity of yarn. If we continue to depend upon the foreigners for yarn, they will naturally increase the price of yarn. The result of this will be that the prices of our cloths will also be increased and the demand for them will naturally go down, which means that the foreign goods will once again come to the front. So, to avoid all this, we must make an attempt to manufacture yarn also ourselves and it is only then that our SWADESHI will be a pure SWADESHI. Some may think that purely

SWADESHI goods will be too hard in texture to be conveniently worn. But it is not patriotism to think so. Is it an hounourable living to eat the dainties thrown off from the table of a rich man? If, caring for honour and dignity as we do, we abandon a cloth simply because it is coarse, how can we progress, and how can we improve the state of our country? So we must leave off the half-hearted SWADESHI and make a strenuous effort to be purely SWADESHI.

The British public and the British Press and the conviction of Sri Tilak.

36. With reference to the quesitions recently asked in House of Commons regarding the conviction of Sri Tilak, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 20th August, remarks:--Though the answers to these questions are far from satisfactory, such questions are a SINE QUA NON now, since they give the British public an idea of the state of affairs in India. Many of the English papers today are of opinion that the conviction of Sri Tilak was not a wise step taken by the Government. One of them observes: "Sri Tilak was a man who was moving the masses; he never used to look down upon the common people. So he ~~could he~~ should not be regarded as a single individual; he is an inspiration and so if he is removed, there will be many like him to take his place. If he has been a source of danger at Poona, he will be a still greater source of danger in the Andamans."

Ramaraj and the British rule in India.

39. In reply to the letter by a correspondent of the VRITTANTA PATRIKA on the present situation in India, comparing the British rule in India to RAMARAJ (a proverbial expression which denotes an ideal Government), a correspondent of the BHARATHI, of the 14th August, remarks that there cannot be the slightest comparison between RAMARAJ and the British rule in India. In the first place, during the reign of Sri Rama, famines, disturbances, injustice, Indian Penal Codes and murders were altogether unknown.

The foodstuffs were ~~vexy dx~~ never dear. Gold, silver and other precious metals were not carried away from the country, In these days, even the reduction of the salt-tax is considered as a great boon to the people, as if they could subsist on salt alone.
It is also pointed out in that letter that there were disturbances and riots even in the days of SRI RAMA. Probably, it is only in this respect that the present British rule in India resembles RAMARAJ. It is also stated in the letter that there is now perfect freedom of thought in matters of religion. Why then do the missionaries try to convert people to Christianity by means of various threats, inducements or promises? It might be replied that Christianity is the only true religion. But it does not require threats or promises to spread the truth. Yet, the various cunning methods of the promises to spread the truth. Yet, the various cunning ~~xx~~ methods of the missionaries are too well-known to need description. Besides, now 99 per cent. of the ruling class (Europeans) are opposed to the ~~single-instance of-the-Arbuthnot-failure--which-will~~ promotion of indigenous ~~indus-genous~~ industries. Much has been said about the sympathy of the Europeans and the British administration of justice. But the single instance of the Arbuth not failure--which will be remembered by generations to come--is sufficient proof of European integrity. If the Europeans are just and liberal-minded why should they refuse to grant the Indians self-government? Why should there be the Old Age Pensions Bill in England but no similar provision in India? The article concludes with a remark that it is foolish to blame Lord Curzon for the present situation. For, it is he that really awakened the people to a sense of their duty of promoting indigen-ous industries and created in the people a spirit of manliness; and for this the Indians should feel thankful to him.

40. The VEERAKESARI, of the 31st July, observes:--~~In another article the~~ In these days it is extremely difficult to conduct a newspaper, because the owners of newspapers are harassed from

A strange decree of Fate!

all directions by the authorities. Now, one (police) man comes and asks for a copy of the newspaper. The next moment another man comes and asks how many copies of a particular issue were struck off. The next moment a third man comes and asks whether all the copies of a back number have been despatched or when the next issue would be published. If the newspaper-owners should move out of the house, two persons dressed in plain clothes closely follow them and watch their movements. In the press the police instrusion is even greater. Some ten policemen at least inspect the Press every day and interrupt the workmen by asking various questions in the disguise of friends. How deplorable is the condition of newspaper-owners and patriots at the present time! They are harassed from all sides. Sometimes, their agony of mind, sometimes physical suffering, sometimes loss of money, and sometimes deportation! What a hard fate!

43. ~~Referring to the news~~ The SWADESHI and the Boycott

The VRITTANTA CHINTAMONY, of the 15th August, observes that some Anglo-Indian newspapers are of opinion that if the Indians should give up the BOYCOTT and retain only the SWADESHI, they will have the hearty co-operation of the Europeans. It is true that where the BOYCOTT does not interfere with SWADESHISM, the former may given up. But where the foreigners are able to undersell a particular commodity so as to destroy an indigenous art or industry, it is the duty of every Indian to adopt the BOYCOTT as well. It is because the British have also been boycotting foreign goods under similar circumstances that they have so much advanced in trade and it would be wise to follow their example in this.

44. The BHARATHI, of the 18th August, says that some paper does not favour the idea of holding the next CONGRESS in Madras, as there is a large number of Extremists in Madras. It observes:-- The Extremists are not against the holding of the Congress. But they hold that the Congress to be entitled to be called NATIONAL, should represent all parties of the people. How can the Congress be called the NATIONAL CONGRESS if it should consist of only one party and shut its doors against the rest? It can only be called a conference of that party. It is extremely regrettable that an organization formed to represent the whole nation should have reduced itself to a party movement under the complete dictatorship of a single leader.

The next sitting of the Congress.

48. A leader in the BHARATA BANDHU, of the 12th August, referring to the temporary suspension of the sentence passed on Chidambaram Pillai and Subramanya Siva by Mr.Pinhey, whose wanton freaks displayed without any restraint by him when Collector of Malabar and caricatured in Kummini song By K.C.Narayanan Nambiyar and ventilated in the columns of the local papers are still remembered, remarks that this act of the High Court Judges, Messrs.Sankaran Nayar and Munro, has rendered the British justice triumphant and has increased twofold the loyalty of the Indians.

Regarding the suspension of sentence in the Tinnevelly sedition case.

For the week ending 29th August, 1908.

No. 35 of 1908.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY NATIVES.

I.FOREIGN POLITICS.

1. The WEST COAST SPECTATOR, of the 19th August, remarks:-- "Evidently the twentieth century is destined to see startling and

A federation of Mussalman States.

radical changes in the life and activities of Oriental nations. The birth of the century synchronised with the struggle for supremacy in the Far East between an Occidental nation and an Oriental race. The success of the latter in the struggle and its magnificent feat of arms unparalleled in the histories of nations, set free the latent energies and faculties of the Oriental nations. This awakening brought with it a flood of new ideas-- ideas of democracy, freedom and national unity. Everywhere throughout the East the feeling is ~~in any~~ one of universal brotherhood and resentment against autocracy and slavery in any form. The granting of a constitution by the late Shah of Persia and by the Sultan of Turkey to their subjects is sufficient indication of the potentialities of the new life with which the East is throbbing. The revocation of the Persian constitution by the present shah and the perfect candour and sympathy of the Sultan and his subjects towards the Persian reformers have further strengthened the feeling of national unity and resentment against autocracy.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(b) Courts.

2. The WEST COAST SPECTATOR, of the 22nd August remarks:--

The Tilak trial.

"Commenting upon the verdict of guilty returned by a majority of English men, Mr.Hyndman asks whether such a verdict justified a Judge, nominated and paid by the foreign rulers, in sentencing the leader of the Indian National party to six years' transportation. Mr.Hyndman's challenge is clearly unanswerable. As he very rightly observes, none can find in the article a single sentence inciting the people to violence and speaking of murders with approval. Justice Davar's statement has done great harm. It has prejudiced public opinion at home against Mr.Tilak, It is to be regretted that the question of moving the King for mercy has been closed. If His Majesty could graciously pardon Mr.Tilak, he would have earned not only the gratitude of his Indian subjects but allayed to a very large extend the feeling of unrest."

(k) General.

3. The HINDU, of the 22nd August, publishes the following leader:--"The Madras Government have taken a step of the utmost gravity in sanctioning and instituting the prosecution for sedition of Mr.G.Subramania Ayar, editor of the SWADESAMITRAN, and a publicist of wide repute, not only in this Presidency, but all over India. Every man ~~wide.repute,~~ who offends againts the law must be prepared to face the consequences of his act. The law relating to sedition in this country is, however, not clearly defined, is deemed incapable of an exact definition and the Government is invested with a discretion as to whether in a given case the law is to be put, in operation or not. The object of the Legislature in enacting a clause that offences of this description should not be taken cognizance of by the courts, except with the special sanction of the Local Government, is to impose on the latter the duty of weighing all the circumstances and of arriving at a statesmanlike decision on the matter. In his memorable speech on 'The Conciliation of America' in the House of Commons, Edmund Burke said: 'It is not what a lawyer tells me I may do, but what humanity, reason and justice tell me I ought to do!' The principle of this remark underlines the provision of the Indian Criminal law we have referred to above. The Madras Presidency is in an extremely peaceful condition just now. It has been so for several years past but for the ebullitions caused by temporary and local causes in Cocanada and Tinnevelly. Any excitement that is visible on the surface of society in parts of the Presidency is more or less traceable to the prosecutions for sedition that have been set on foot. In the Press Note issued by the Government of India so recently as Monday last, it is affirmed that the tone of the Madras Press has improved.

The prosecution of G.Subramania Aiyar.

"The INDIAN PATRIOT, of the 24th August, writes:--"Since the news of Mr.Subramania Aiyar's arrest at Courtallam spread in Madras late on Friday evening, there has been deep feeling of regret ~~in-Madras-late~~ and sympathy. The prosecution of a man

of his position in public life is an event of first rate importance, calculated to rouse attention and sympathy in all parts of India. His work as a journalist and public man extends over a period of thirty years and more. In Southern India he was the first to create and buuild up a public opinion and public life. No other person has had so large a part in a the political education of the people. This is acknowledged by the country at large, both by those who agree with him and those who have had to differ from him. Until within the last two or three years, there was no greater admirer of the British race, no more loyal adherent of the British Government. His PRO-Government attitude was so marked that on certain occasions, and as regards certain measures, he was much misunderstood and really became unpopular with many of his countrymen, while on the other hand as a social reformer he was so far in advance of the bulk of the Hindu community that he seriously offended them.

Whatever may be the opinions he may have held forth, however strong may on occasions have been his language, we have never believed that he is disloyal to Government. He has often used much severer language against his own community than he has ever done against Government when he found that the community would not move as fast as he though it should. Similar impatience he may have felt as regards political reform after years of labour waiting. His advancing age and his continued ill-health are also circumstances which people xx take into account. All deplore that, after the recent subsidence of certain undesirable developments, there should have been a further cause of keeping the public mind in an uneasy state; and it is to be devoutly wished that the Government could be persuaded, especially in view of the fact that there has been no warning or remonstrance to forbear out of consideration for the unanimous feeling of the people, and in appreciation of the exceptionally good general record of public service which he has to his credit and which might have received acknowledgment from the Government themselves at an earlier period."

4. The MUHAMMADAN, of the 24th August, writes as follows:-

The suppression of sedition

"The Government of Madras has at last awaked to the need of suppressing disaffection in our Presidency. In spite of frequent warnings, the sedionists were too long allowed to go on unchecked in their nefarious attempt to bring the Government into populat contempt. The cry of the SWARAJ was raised; the new movement of revolution was organized; students and school-boys were seduced from the seclusion of their studies to join what was represented as a patriotic undertaking; itinerant preachers went from place to place disseminating inflammatory ideas amongst the uneducated masses; the press, once so sober and sensible, degenerated into license; disturbances by school-boys and strikes of workmen became common; still, the Government would not take notice of what was passing around, until the Tinnevelly riots opened its eyes to the real gravity of the situation. Since then, however, the police seems to be pretty vigilant, as the arrests made and the prosecutions instituted bear witness; still, it cannot be said that all that is necessary has been done. The Government has already been too slow in rousing up to the necessity of the times. There is no doubt that if it had been up betimes and brought one or two sedition-mongers to book, the movement would have been nipped in the bud and to-day the situation would not have been so serious. But, "better late than never" says the proverb. And now that the machinery of Government has been moved, and it is only to be hoped that it will not be set at rest until disaffection is rooted out altogether.

IV. NATIVE STATES.

5. The PATRIOT, (North Arcot), of the 15th August, writes:-

The Mysore Press Act.

"In June last, the Imperial Legislative Council passed an Act in view to check and extinguish seditions newspapers. Following

the example of the British Government, the Mysore Government has recently passed a Press Gagging Act for which there was no need. There is no sedition in Mysore and the loyalty and devotion of the xxxx His Highness's subjects is beyond all praise. All the formalities of notice of the Bill inviting public criticism and even the discussion of the Bill during its passage through the Council were dispensed with. The members of the Council met and unanimously passed the Act. It is not shown that the newspapers in the State have offended against the Penal Code. The action of the Mysore Government has not been approved by the Indian Press. Its demoralising effects will be obvious. Love begets love and confidence begets confidence. The model Native State which has earned a reputation for a high standard of wisdom, honour and justice has needlessly brought a horners' nest about its ears by pursuing a policy which shows a plentiful lack of political insight and judgment. Absit omen!"

The suppression of sedition in Hyderabad.

6. The MUHAMMADAN, of the 20th August, publishes the following:--"One Dhundoo Pant, a first grade vakil, who was residing in the Residency limits, has been deported from Hyderabad for sedition and he had to make himself scarce within 24 hours. I believe there are some more who are feeling very uncomfortable in the situation they have created for themselves. There is a delay in these gentlemen being furnished with a free passport owing to their being within the jurisdiction of His Highness the Nizam. If the British Government had adopted such measures at the beginning the seditious germs would not have multiplied so easily those that want to promote SWARAJ and the boycott propaganda should know that this bacilli will not thrive in the healthy atmosphere of Hyderabad politics. Hyderabad was free from plague while it was raging all round and the authorities will not allow sedition-mongers to scare the law-abiding and loyal subjects of both the Governments. One man has received his ticket and if others don't stop in their career of madness they will have to make a tiresome railway

journey much against their will. The journey will be the more uncomfortable in this dirty weather when even the railwya carriages don't offer much protection against the ~~xxx~~ elements wind and rain, and when they get to end of their journey their ardour will be somewhat ~~xxxxxx~~ cooled."

VI. MISCELLANEOUS.

7. The INDIAN PATRIOT, of the 21st August, remarks:--

"Ourselves to Blame.

The SWADESHI movement.

The only undesirable feature of the present-day SWADESHISM is its association with boycott. Banish the word 'boycott' and your industrial movement has the fullest sympathy of the Government, is what every high placed official has to say to the Indian. Public men in India are very much divided on this point, and there is still a very large section of the Indian Press and not a few of the leaders of public opinion in this land that always hold decided views against the cult of boycott. At the Calcutta Congress it ~~xxxx~~ was held no doubt that boycott was a legitimate ~~xxxxx~~ method of protest against a particular grievance. But in the absence of such a grievance and without the consciousness of a grievous wrong, the weapon of boycott loses all its moral force. To preach boycott at all times and in all places is to have recourse to a thing without understanding its seriousness and the danger involved in it. We have always been of opinion that boycott must be held as a reserve force by Indians, and should be resorted to on exceptional ~~xx~~ occasions and under exceptional circumstances. To dangel this weapon always before the eyes of the rulers on the inherent strength and to grossly miscalculate the strength of the opponents. No boycotter, however ardent he may be, has yet been able to answer what the fate of the Indian industries will be, if the British manufacturer retaliates upon the Indian. Even if SWADESHI activities progress in the country at a rapid rate, for a long time to come we have to import machinery and engines from foreign countries,

without whose ex help the infantile industries in any country cannot hope to prosper or hold their own against the competition of foreign made articles. If boycott in India is carried to such manufacturers, the industrial xxgxxx retaliation from the foreign merchants and manufacturers, the industrial regeneration of the country will be at a dead-lock, our industries having neither the capacity ex to develop nor the power to keep themselves from decay.

The Punjab Hindu Sabha on the situation.

8. The MADRAS STANDARD, of the 23rd August, writes:--"Elsewhere we publish a telegram from Lahore giving a summary of the address which the Punjab Hindu Sabha is to present to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab. It is, as our correspondent says, a dignified document breathing the spirit of loyalty which pervades and animates the Hindu community throughout India. The Punjab Sabha expresses its deep abhorrence of the anarchist plot and sedition and emphasises that the interests of the rulers and the ruled are identical. The address is a truly noble docume[nt] which we commend to all classes of people in India and which along with similar assurances to Government from other parts of India must go far to smoothen the difficulties of the present situation

The Government of India and Hindu leaders.

9. The MALABAR DAILY NEWS and the TRIVANDRUM TELEGRAPH, of the 20th August, writes:--

"Perhaps in the Madras Presidency, there is very little sedition and unrest compared with what there is in Bengal or in prex portions of Western India, but our own Presidency cannot be said to be altogether immaculate in this particular respect, and while there have been meetings of sympathy on behalf of convicted offenders, it is not creditable that there have been no manifest endeavours to show disapproval, even if ever so mild, of movement[s]

of a most injurious and inexcusable type. The leading political organisation in this Presidency is the Madras Mahajana Sabha, and this body, as we know, has selected the most inopportune moment for setting the seal of silence upon its lips."

The Congress in Madras.

10. The MADRAS STANDARD, of the 28th August, contains the following leader:--"We have no doubt that the general public will view with satisfaction the decision arrived at by the Madras Congress Committee at its meeting on Wednesday evening last to hold in Madras, in December next, the first session of the reorganised Congress. In a series of articles we ventured to call public attention to the gravity of the situation and the necessity of the Congress re-assembling, on the basis of the new constitution adopted at Allahabad, to deliberate upon it and upon other subjects of equal importance.

"It has been apparent for a long time past that for one reason or other the other Provinces of India were not in a position this year to invite the Congress, and it was also almost a foregone conclusion that if after the Surat collapse the Congress was not revived and placed on a firmer, deeper and well-defined basis this year, there was no other chance of its resuscitation. Under these circumstances then Madras has done well to go to the rescue of the Congress and bravely taken upon itself the onerous responsibility; and in this decision of the Madras Congress Committee the public about whose attitude there seems to have been scarcely any doubt will generally concur. But it is well to bear in mind that the success of the undertaking will depend upon the extent to which Congressmen in the districts will co-operate with the Madras Committee. The new constitution of the Congress lays down the rules for the organisation of District and Local Congress Committees to be affiliated to the Provincial Committee. In the whole Presidency there are about a dozen District Associations of which two or three alone have made their existence generally known. The others have been practically inactive. These

Associations will have to be reorganised and in the districts where no Associations now exist steps must forthwith be taken to organise Congress Committees in accordance with the rules which provided for in the constitution framed at Allahabad.) We are in the month of August and in December next the Congress is to be held. If we are not mistaken the preliminary arrangments must be completed three or four weeks ahead of the Congress.

"We have said that the present situation is one which calls for action on the part of the responsible and recognised leaders of the people. They have a serious and onerous duty to discharge to which, we hope, they will prove equal. We know for a fact that the people of India are loyal and law-abiding to the core and look with abomination not only on seditions and anarchist plots but on lawlessness and disorder of all kinds. Peace, order, tranquillity, amity and harmony of feeling and aim among all the subjects of the King-Emperor are their best assets, the sheet anchor of their existence. But unfortunately a few misguided men have embittered feeling and created a situation which it is the duty of all law-abiding citizens of the Empire to deal with in a way best conducive to the happiness and prosperity of the country at large and to the development of good feeling and right understanding between the rulers and the ruled.

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

I. FOREIGN POLITICS.

Indians in the Transvaal

12. The NADEGANNADI, of the 22nd August, observes that both the Hindus and the Muhammadans are again labouring under the hardship imposed by the Transvaal legislation. It is reported that the son of Mr.Gandhi has been sent to jail. It is not right that the British Government should harass the Indians both within India and outside it. The Home Government ought to interfere (on behalf of the Indians) and soon bring about a more just and equitable legislation.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(b) Courts.

The Darjeeling mail assault case.

14. While commenting on the punishment of four years rigorous imprisonment inflicted on Durga Charan Sanyal by Justices Brett and Ryves in the Darjeeling mail assault case, the NAYABHIMANI, of the 17th August, remarks:--The accused in this case is an old man of 60 years harrowed by many kinds of misfortunes and given to picking up quarrels. He attempted to kill one of his two fellow passengers in the train whom he severely wounded while he attacked and wounded the other also. Such is the judicial finding of the High Court Judges and for this the old man was sentenced to four years' rigorous imprisonment. He is not likely to survive the punishment even for four months. The gentlemen that passed this sentence draw a monthly salary of four thousand and they are known as High Court Judges in the English Government. What heartlessness!

A European murderer punished with four days' simple imprisonment.

15. Referring to the punishment of four days' simple imprisonment said to have been inflicted by the District Magistrate of Delhi on a European fireman named A. Davis in the service of the East India Railway Company, for the offence of murder alleged to have been committed by him on a punkah-puller, the NYAYABHIMANI, of the 20th August, remarks as follows:-- How long will such tribunals and Government thrive successfully, which allow such injustices to be perpetrated in this world of God in which all mankind are equal? It is only low-bred persons who have forgotten God that will not understand that there is a God above who sits in judgment over all the Judges and that the Government of a country should be a representative institution to administer the natural laws of God. But even the atheists will fear to violate these laws of nature. Such being the case, is it right to apply the honourable appellation of statesmen to those who are committing these unjust acts without compunction

and hesitation? What permanent benefit can be expected to result from this, except everlasting reproach to the Government and increasing disunion and weakness among the people. An honest and able native lawyer, infirm with age verging on 60 years, travelling in a Railway train commits an assault on two Europeans fellow passengers with whom he falls into a sudden quarrel and who attempt to throw him down from the train, and the punishment inflicted on him by the Judges of two Sessions Courts and a High Court is four years' rigorous imprisonment, while only a sentence of four days' simple imprisonment is passed on a European blockhead who killed his native punkapuller by kicking him on his sides. Had that blockhead appealed to the Sessions Court, two days would have been remitted and a further appeal to the High Court would have quashed the remaining portion of the sentence, leaving him guiltless and pure like burnished ~~x~~ gold. But as he was a Railway servant, this clue did not perhaps strike him. Had he been any other whiteman, he would have certainly preferred an appeal on the spot, and after obtaining an acquittal, he would have then and there knocked down to death ~~faxx obtaining-an-acquittal,-he-we~~ four helpless men before ~~m~~ coming out of the Court. But even now it is not too late; only he will take a little time to do it. Even if there is a delay on his part, his countrymen would bravely accomplish this noble duty for him.

This indeed, is British justice, this is the blessed constitution of the British Government, and this is British civilization! Is it not thus that the gracious Government of the Englishmen is conducted in India? Is it not on account of the fact that these things are published and circulated even to other countries by the native press that the gagging and confiscating Acts have been introduced? Let the disunited and starving Indians understand well how the British Government and the English stand at present; and so understanding, let them ~~xxx~~ sink further down into the abysmal depths of caste fends and religious quarrels, and self-boastings, selfishness and vain shows.

The European murderer is now at large, roaming about as

merrily as ever, while the sad lot of the innocent Indians leads them to the scaffold, the prison house and transportation to distant countries.

May the glorious British Justice flourish! May all human beings perish! May famine and plunder thrive! May riots grow rife! May the people suffer from starvation! May the just rule of the Englishmen in India be prolonged and rise to the lofty skies!

(k) General.

The present situation in India

17. While commenting on the present situation in India, the VIJAYA VIKATAN, of the 1st August observes:--Justice has been spoiled by the Police Department and the people have been ruined by taxation. The wealth in the hands of the people has been wasted by the increase in the number of Courts. The peace of mind of our patriots has been disturbed by the Regulation of 1818. British justice has been marred by the judgment of Mr.Pinhey and the justice of the country has been spoiled by the decision of Mr.Davar. The ways of the Government of India have told upon the dignity of the King, and those of Lord Minto and the Provincial Governments, have disturbed the peace of the country and spoiled the minds of the people. Lord Morley has spoiled the Indian nation. Lord Curzon's regime has driven away peace from India. Lord Morley's obstinacy has spoiled the Prime Minister and the view of the Prime Minister has misguided the Parliament. The justice of King Edward has been spoiled because he forsook the promises of Queen Victoria. The complete deterioration of British justice has spoiled the loyalty in India which existed ten years back and this, in its turn, has led to the loss of the liberty of the press in India. The gagging of the press has completely spoiled the good-will of the people and this has resulted in a rupture between the rulers and the ruled.

18. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 24th August, writes:--In a letter addressed to a meeting convened by the Muhammadans of Poona to demonstrate their loyalty to the British rule, His Highness the Aga Khan condemned the present unrest and feeling of sedition, and observed that, besides believing that the salvation of India lay solely in the protection of the people by the continued stability of the British rule, it was the duty of all the Indians, Hindus and Muhammadans to do all that lay in their power to strengthen that rule. It is said that the masses are, as a rule, loyal, and it is only those that pose as educated men and leaders that act in which a way as to compromise their loyalty; that it is not enough that the really loyal among these men do not oppose the Government, as that will not produce any better result than merely putting a sort of check on the mischievous pranks of the seditionists and would not strengthen the British rule. We also admit that it is necessary to strengthen the British rule; only we do not understand how this may be effected. Is it likely that all that appears to the Indians as calculated to strengthen the British rule will appear in the same light to the minds of the Englishmen? The (MADRAS) Mail suggests that the loyalists should overcome the seditionists and rioters. But how to overcome them is the question. In the first place, who are seditionists and who are rioters? In the very matter of ascertaining this, the Indians and the Englishmen will differ. According to the Englishmen, any criticism of the British Government is deemed seditious. Sri Dadabhai Naoroji, Babu Surendranath Banerji, Lala Lajpat Rai, Mr.Gokhale, Sri Tilak and Sri Chidambaram Pillai are looked upon by the Englishmen as seditionists. Dadabhai Naoroji who in our eyes is a staunch patriot and has deep faith in the British rule is to the Englishmen a seditionist. Did not the PIONEER say that the members of the Viceregal Council like Mr.Gokhale and Dr.Rash Behari Gosh, were responsible for the bomb outrages? Ninety-nine per cent. of the Englishmen regard Babu Banerji as a seditionist. Lala Lajpat Rai was deported for sedition and Sri Tilak has been punished

The strengthening of British rule.

with transportation. When all these persons are regarded by all the Indians, educated as well as illiterate, as having incarnated for the salvation of India, we do not really understand what it means to oppose and overcome them. It is sedition to hold meetings to protest against the acts of Government; it is sedition to preach to the people not to purchase foreign articles; it is sedition again to help the poor Indians when they are molested by European merchants and others. The English officials who carry on the Government and the Europeans who have come here to make money should be treated alike by the Indians. It follows then that the same respect which is shown to the Governor and other officials should be shown to others as well. If this is the definition of loyalty, the Indians will have to put up with a good deal of hardship in showing their loyalty True loyalty will be possible only so long as devotion to the British rule and work for the welfare of ~~the~~ India do not clash with each other. The Indians and the Englishmen differ as to what is the welfare of ~~the~~ India and what is not. Till now they have differed on many points like this. It is this difference which accounts for the bad feeling between the Indians and the Englishmen. It is not possible for the Englishmen to have an insight into what is good or bad for India; it is only the Indians who can know it. Therefore, if the British rule is to be carried on in the interests of India, it should be according to the wishes of the Indians. This is the natural procedure in all the countries of the world. It is the Englishmen, and not the Germans or Russians, that know what is best for England. Therefore the wishes of the Indians should be consulted ~~xxxxxfxxxx~~ through their proper representatives and the country governed accordingly. It is only then that the British rule will be sufficiently strengthened; otherwise, the suggestion that the British rule ~~now are considered to be sedi~~ should be strengthened has no significance. Those who criticise that rule now are considered to be seditionists. But if these very men take their places in the Executive Councils as the people's representatives, they will participate in the

administration of the country and then their words will no more be considered seditions. As the Government will then be conducted with their co-operation, it will acquire a strength which it never before had and as our own men will conduct the Government, there will be no room for sedition.

Sedition in the United Provinces

19. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 25th August, has the following leading article:--The United Provinces of Agra and Oudh were enjoying undisturbed tranquillity till now, not more than two seditious prosecutions having taken place, It is really strange that, situated as they are so close to Bengal, these provinces should not have been affected by the teachings of the Bengali rioters. The chief reason for this state of things is that the Governor of these Provinces, Sir John Hewett, is a very good gentleman, who is ready to hear patiently the grievances of the people and render proper redress. During the short period of his regime, he has been taking a keen interest in industrial progress and the improvement of primary education and has given satisfaction to the people by talking to them often and acquainting himself with their wants and wishes. Where the Governor is good, the officials will also be well disposed and the minds of the people will not be hurt by petty troubles. Seeing that the famine which has recently set in is sorely afflicting the people, Sir John Hewett has very graciously come to their succour and is doing all possible help to the afflicted. Such circumstances as these explain the immunity which these provinces enjoy from riots and seditious movements, though entangled in the midst of a general agitation which has entangled the Punjab on one side and Bengal on the other. But it is not likely that this state of things will still continue; for, the Govenor, though sympathetically disposed towards the people, is not a timid person who would countenance riot and sedition and he does his best to maintain tranquillity without resorting to repression as far as possible.

But, if all these precautions prove of no avail, he will not hesitate even for a moment to enforce law. The practice of speaking to the popular leadess with an open mind such as Sir John Hewett and Sir George Clarke are now doing is a new one. If this practice were only to become general and lead to the mutual good-will of the authorities and the leaders, many an evil would disappear. Although it is imperative on the part of the Government to show firmness and pertinacity in putting down crime, abundant good will result if only the popular leaders are consulted and their advice acted upon without being neglected. There has been no end to the evils which resulted till now by the Government ~~has newly acquired~~ being conducted on the basis of the notion that the people are fools and are not competent to give advice on State matters. But now the Government has newly acquired a right sense. And if, in the light of this, the intended reforms of Lord Morley turn out to be true reforms, there is no doubt that India will have a bright future.

Mr.G.Subramania Aiyar's arrest.

23. The SASILEKHA, of the 25th August, observes:--The people of not only this Presidency but of every province in India regret that Mr.G.Subramania Aiyar, who after editing the HINDU, for 25 years has been conducting the SWADESAMITRAN, is now changed with sedition under sections 124A and 153A of the Indian Penal Code. When the Government of India passed the "Age of Consent Bill" he helped them and incurred the displeasure of the people, while all the leading gentlemen of Bengal and the orthodox men of this Presidency opposed the Bill. He criticised the administration of the country with a view to get its defects removed, just as he criticised the condition of the Hindu society to see the social evils removed. He is not at all disloyal. During the first meeting of the Congress, he proposed the first resolution in which he praised the English administration of India. Governors, Council Members and other high officials praised the HINDU as a moderate paper.

Mr. Aiyar who has worked well so long deserves to be pardoned by the Government. We submit to His Excellency the Governor that the prestige of the Government would be increased if Mr. Subramania Aiyar and others who have been charged with sedition were let off on receiving assurances of their future good conduct.

His Highness the Agakhan on the duty of the loyalists.

25. The SATYADEEPIKA, of the 28th August, has a leader under the heading "Aga Khan's letter" in which it takes to task the loyal leaders of the people for their silence when there were riots in Tinnevelly and Bombay caused by the violent writings and speeches of the seditionists. The article further says that it is all the more creditable to those who have come out to speak out their minds and to help the Government in preserving the peace. Among these, His Highness the Aga Khan is the foremost and his words are words of wisdom, and it would be well for all to take them to heart. This is not the time for other leaders of the people to keep silence, but to strengthen the hands of Government by speaking out against the deeds of those who are led away by a false spirit of what they consider patriotism.

The Proclamation of 1857.

26. The QASIM-UL-AKHBAR, of the 24th August, with regard to the proposed celebration of the 50th anniverversary of the Proclamation of 1857, observes that on such occasion as these, the proclamation of reforms is not likely to be welcomed by the general public. The abolition of Free Trade in India at such a time as this when the prices of articles of consumption have risen very high, is a measure, which would satisfy a great majority of the people, The appointment of an additional native to the Legislative Councils of India or the grant of Colonial Government to the Indians would not be so pleasing to the natives of India as the abolition of Free Trade, and further says that the reduction of the salt-tax did not prove to be of much profit and advantage to the people.

27. The MUKHBIR-E-DUKHAN, of the 26th August, writes that after a prolonged disturbance and unrest, law and order are maintained in India. Now there are no more bomb outrages or demonstrations or any anarchist movements. The first symptoms of the awakening of the Indians appeared only after the victory of Japan over Russia. If to-day the desires of the Indians are not realized, or fulfilled it is not improbable that their feelings will be roused same day against the success of other countries. It is therefore advisable that prompt and early attention should be paid to the grievances of the Indians, in order to soothe the feelings of the peace-loving and refined politicians, and they will in their turn praise the actions of Government and will hold the movements of the anarchists in utter abhorrence. It is very gratifying to note that hundreds of Mussalman societies of the different parts of India have publicly signified their sentiments of loyalty to the British Crown, which was gratefully appreciated by the Government. The sentence passed against Mr.Tilak has had a great effect on the Extremist party who will certainly amend their policy. Some have suggested to the Government not to grant any concession or privilege to the Indians, for the anarchists will be emboldened by such grants and will think that the Government being afraid of anarchism has introduced reforms. But the MUKHBIR thinks the above to be an unsound suggestion, not fit to be attended to. Every man of sense is fully aware of this that Government is very powerful and that it has no reason to be afraid of the people.

The unrest in India.

III. LEGISLATION.

28. Referring to the arrest of the editors of the INDIA and the SWADESAMITRAN, the BHARATHI of the 22nd August, observes:--The exact meaning of the term sedition has never been made known. Writings are deemed seditious if the authorities bear a grudge against their authors. Sections 124A and 153A do not deserve to be called sections (legal provisions); for, the definitions

Sedition in India.

of offences mentioned in them are not given distinctly as they ought to be in all legal enactments. They have been differently interpreted by different Judges and each interpretation has served to send one patriot at least to prison. As the proverb goes, "the rod is the remedy for everythingx," any patriot can be charged with sedition with the help of these sections. The attitude of the officials towards the Indians is by no means sympathetic; in the case of newspapers owned by natives the attitude is one of clear hostility and in the case of newspapers published in the vernacular, the hostility is ever greater. But it cannot be said that this is the case always or with every newspaper. Sometimes, the newspaper editors are brought into trouble, probably when the authorities want a little amusement at their expense. The events of the past 8 or 10 months strengthen this belief. These evils have to be borne until the benign British Government takes pity on these newspaper editors and explains those wicked provisions more clearly so as to give the accused a fair trial. None else can mend matters. May God bring peace and happiness to our people.

IV. NATIVE STATES.

The Press Law in Mysore.

29. With reference to the Press law recently passed in Mysore the KESARI, of the 12th August, remarks:--Every one was till now under the impression that the administration in Mysore was conducted well under the regime of Mr.V.P.Madhava Rao as Diwan. But the news of the Press Law recently passed by this Government has not only thoroughly changed the public impression about it, but has also served to create a feeling of disgust in the public mind. This law empowers the Government of Mysore to stop all on a sudden without assigning any cause any newspaper printed or published in that State. This is just like the deportation of Lala Lajpat Rai by the Government of India without any reason or inquiry. There is no Act like this even in British India. We are therefore at a loss to know what provoked the ire of the Diwan

and the pseudo-Members of the Legislative Council against the press in Mysore, quiet as it is at present. The result of this law is that no newspaper, whether in Mysore or outside it, can hereafter hope to criticize the acts of the Mysore Government without standing the risk of being at once stopped or prevented from entering into Mysore. These and other provisions of the Press Act only denote a deterioration of the civilisation and wisdom of the Government in Mysore. This Act has not only marred the reputation of Mr.Madhava Rao and his official maters, but has also cast a slur upon the name of the Maharaja and the long established prestige of the Mysore Raj.

The celebration of the Sivaji Day in Mysore.

30. Referring to Diwan Madhava Rao's statement in the Legislative Council that some schoolmaster celebrated the SIVAJI DAY in Mysore, a correspondent of the BHARATHI, of the 24th August, contends, firstly, that Sivaji day celebration cannot in itself be seditious, and, secondly, that no such celebration ever took place in Mysore. As regards the first, namely, the significance of the Sivaji day celebration, the correspondent observes that Mr.Madhava Rao, who is himself a DESHASTHA Brahmin belonging to that part of the country in which Sivaji himself lived, should have been able to know best whehter Sivaji was in any way a traitor to his country and whether his name is associated with sedition. Secondly, as to whether the Sivaji day was celebrated at all in Mysore, the correspondent that Mr.Madhava Rao's reply to a letter charging him with a mis-statement is quite unsatisfactory. Mr.Madhava Rao could only say that his information on the point came from a source quite reliable in the opinion of the Government. The correspondent challenges the Diwan to specify the source of such information and to satisfy the public as regards the truth of an important statement made by him in the Legislative Council, and finally remarks that Mr.Madhava Rao was himself a schoolmaster at one time, and that just as there are (frequent) religious dances held in his house,

he might also have celebrated the Sivaji day himself for if it were any other schoolmaster, his name need not have been kept secret.

Honest journalism made impossible in Mysore.

31. The VRITTANTA CHINTAMONY, of the 26th August, in a leading article announcing to the public that the paper has to be discontinued owing to the new Press Law in Mysore, observes:--Hitherto it was enough to have paid homage to His Highness the Maharaja and the British Government. But now it is evident that all Government officials expect the same implicit obedience that is due to His Highness. The term "Government officials " includes even village officials. It is not meant however that one may be discourteous towards these lower officials. So long as the officials--whatever their rank or position--do their duty conscientiously and show themselves worthy of the position~~--do their~~ they hold, nobody will grudge them the praise and esteem they deserve. But when they prove to be self-seeking and altogether reagardless of the interests of the public, we cannot show them any civility. As it is not possible under the new law to maintain this principle we have to discontinue the paper. We hope for the day when the Press will regain its liberty.

The effect of the Mysore Press Law?

32. In another article the VRITTANTA CHINTAMONY, of the 26th August, observes:--It is difficult to say whether Mr.Madhava Rao will be able to gain the object he had in view in passing the new law, namely, the expelling from the State those newspaper editors who criticise his actions. For ~~xxxxxx~~ neither His Highness nor the British ~~Rxxxi~~ Resident will sanction an order of deportation in the absence of the strong reasons for it. Mr.Madhava Rao might have thought that it was as easy to expel publishers of newspapers from the State ~~frxm~~ as it was to get the new law passed. There can be no doubt that Mr.Madhava Rao will be disappointed

in this. During the days of the French Revolution, whoever rose to power soon began to show high handedness and whoever showed high handedness soon lost his head (and fresh men came into power). So also, when one newspaper-editor is deported, another will be ready to take his place.

The Mysore Press Law.

33. The BHRATHI, of the 26th August, has an impassioned leader strongly condemning the Mysore Press Regulation which is to come into force in the beginning of the next month, and announces that it will cease to be published from the 27th instant as a protest against the enactment. The article says that the 5th of September will ever be a memorable day in Mysore because that day will be the last of the freedom of the Press in the Province, and no respectable editor will care to publish any paper after that, and there will be no one to carry to His Highness' ears the grievances of the people or to bring to his notice the oppression practised by the persons in authority. The article nevertheless hopes that the dark clouds which now cover the sky will soon disperse if the people continue to agitate and the sun will again smile upon the land. Innumerable troubles were brought upon the head of Sri Krishna when he was a child by his uncle the giant Kamsa, but all of them turned against the wicked prosecutor himself and Sri Krishna came out all the more glorious after putting to death his oppressor!

VI. MISCELLANEOUS.

"Justice has refused to remain in India."

34. The VIJIA VIKATAN, of the 1st August, sarcastically reports "Justice" to have replied to the request of Vikatan to remain in India, in the following strain:--"Do not tease me. I cannot stay in India for even half a minute. Even if my head is severed, it will fall only in other countries and not in India. For nothing they have transported Chidambaram Pillai for life!

Make the least sound and you are confronted with sections 124A and 153A. I would rather live in a forest than in a land like this! Were the people shot down like this when the Queen was living?"

How should we work in the future?

35. The KESARI, of the 12th August, writes:--The active work of our patriots through the Congress for nearly twenty-two years has resulted in no practical good to our countrymen; nor has it harmed our patriots in any way. But the benefits that have accrued to the country from the work of the new party within the last two or three years are patent to the eyes of every one, and we have also seen all the sufferings the leaders of this party have had to undergo within this period. This only illustrates the principle that good and evil go hand in hand. Thus the SWADESHI Steam Navigation Company was started in Tuticorin and soon after Sri Chidambaram Pillai was transported. We heard of the imprisonment of many patriots. So, in working for the progress of our land of Bharata, we must be prepared to meet with innumerable difficulties. Without suffering, we cannot have happiness. Therefore those of us, who desire that our country should come to the position of the other countries in the world, should begin to work with greater ardour than before. But our people are now in a fix as to how they should work in the future. Both preaching SWADESHI and writing in the paper have become dangerous things now. So the only way left for us is to illustrate our views to the people by practical examples, such as starting national schools and establishing panchayats. This was the view expressed by Sri Bipin Chandra Pal, Sri Bhupendra Nath Datt and Lala Lajpat Rai. Moreover, action in these days seems to be more beneficial than either preaching or writing. It is because the public speakers and writers are visible to the authorities, they find it easy to charge them under some section or other and bring them into trouble. But if one refrains from either speaking or writing and silently works for the establishment of national institutions, it will not be so easy for the Police to arrest him

and the judiciary to punish him. So our people must now take to starting national stores and schools throughout the country. In addition to this, a reading room must be opened in every village and the villagers must be trained to understand and discuss public affairs. These and similar are the best suited to the present juncture.

The causes of disaffection.

36. The NYAYABHIMANI, of the 13th August, says:--The loyalty or disloyalty of a country depends upon the way in which it is governed. If the Government authorities treat the subjects with consideration and confidence, the subjects also will reciprocate those feelings. Otherwise mutual distrust will be the result. Despotism and partiality breed disaffection and in all the countries which have produced disloyal men, the Government will be despotic, deceitful and devoid of mercy.

But the conservatives of the stamp of Lord Curzon produce, by their barkings, an impression on the minds of the people that the Government itself is hard-hearted and haughty. The only way to bring these uncompromising and obstinate men to their senses is to send them away to regions inhabited by barbarians and cannibals and ask them to govern those people. It is only then that they will begin to entertain feelings of respect and gratitude towards India and the Indians. It is on account of these vile wretches that all sorts of disaffection, terrible unrest, famine and cruelties prevail in the countries. There are, however, righteous men also in England who are capable of working on behalf of the people with feelings of mercy, humanity and gratitude. But it seems that the voices of these men would be drowned by the loud barkings of those ungrateful villains who have still the audacity to act so.

As time rolls on, it is justice and goodness that will triumph and not injustice and cruelty, This is sufficiently illustrated by past histories and experiences. Where disaffection increases anarchy sets in in course of time and nihilists will

predominate. When the Government is devoid of love, justice and anxiety for the welfare of the people, that very moment will disaffection, which is the axe that will destroy the Government, begin to flourish.

It is sheer ignorance on the part of the Government to introduce drastic and ~~in~~ unjust laws, one-sided methods, rash principles, revengeful regulations and threatening measures to put down disaffection. This would only serve to help disaffection growing stronger.

Thus statesmen and officials exist only to spread disaffection in the country. If these are removed, the country will always enjoy peace in every way. Otherwise enemies to the Government will be produced in the country as profusely as the winged whiteants issuing out of an ant-hill.

Are the popular leaders the cause of the unrest?

37. The YATHARTHAVACHANI, of the 22nd August, says:--We understand from a study of history that, whenever there is unrest in a country, it is not caused by the leaders who happen to be connected with it at the time, but is the outcome of other circumstances. Therefore it is the duty of the Government to read aright the signs of the times, and to take such steps as would remove the true causes of the unrest and not to punish the leaders who merely voice forth the people's mind.

The Madras newspapers overtaken by adverse fortune

38. The VIJAYA VIKATAN, of the 22nd August, announces its discontinuance for the present and the reasons for this are set forth in the following leading article. The times have become bad. For the last three years, the papers published in Bombay, Poona, the Pubjab and the Central Provinces have been incurring the serious displeasure of saturn, the god of adversity, and brought to trouble thereby. This God has now made his appearance in the Madras Presidency and brought about the riots in Cocanada

and Tinnevelly. He has claimed Messrs.Siva and Pillay as his special victims, giving them SWARAJ in the form of jail food. Then he appeared before a paper in Bezwada and brought trouble to its editor and press. Later on the caught hold of Arya and made him an inmate of the jail. He is now turn of Srijut G. Subramania Aiyar, the editor of the SWADESAMITRAN, and Srinivasa Aiyangar, the editor of the INDIA. These two editors have been arrested and their presses and houses searched and records carried away.' The arrests do not stop here, and we understand that there are still some more warrants for arresting other leaders and patriotic journals. As the Government is eager to send to the Andamans all those that are patriotic, it is having its own way. According to the law now in vogue, it is not possible to characterize these measures as just or unjust. Besides, as the Government is raking up old sores and has begun to prosecute the editors for their articles which had been buried, it is time we realize that the entire Madras press has come under the influence of Saturn. We have, therefore, resolves to stop our journal from this week for some time to come, in consideration of the present fermentation.

SWARAJ.

39. The VRITTANTA CHINTAMONY, of the 26th August, observes that the Maharaja of Dubbhanga advises the people to give up agitating for SWARAJ and to direct their attention towards providing the poor with proper food and raiment. No doubt this is a very valuable advice. But to this end, it is firstly necessary to regulate the export of Indian products to foreign countries. It is not meant that Indian products should not be exported at all. But there should always be an adequate return for the goods exported. For it is a greater mistake to export the necessaries of life to foreign countries and get some worthless tawdry things in return. The poor now suffer because the normal prices of food-stuffs at present are as high as the famine rates and this is because the food-stuffs are exported to foreign countries in large

quantities. But will the mere giving up of the aims at SWARAJ create a supply of food and clothing? If that is so, the people will most gladly give up the idea of SWARAJ. By SWARAJ (self-government) is meant self-government under the British supervision; for, it is nothing short of foolishness to aim at self-government independent of the British. With self-government under British protection and supervision, it will be possible to regulate the export of food-stuffs so as to allow only the excess to be sent to foreign countries. There can be no harm in aiming at a self-government of this kind. The Maharaja of Durbhanga would do well to help the Indians in acquiring self-government of this kind. But it would be well to persuade the people to give up their aim at SWARAJ, for it cannot be conducive to the advancement of the country.

Conviction of Ethiraja Surendranath.

41. An editorial in the KERALA PATRIKA, of the 22nd August, referring to the conviction of Ethiraja Surendranath for sedition remarks that the request of the Government Advocate for the award of an exemplary punishment is unjustifiable and that it should have been left entirely to the discretion of the presiding Judge to accord a punishment adequate to the seriousness of the crime. Considering the status of the accused a lighter punishment would have satisfied the ends of justice. It is improper to preach sedition and foster enmity against Government, and it is in the interest of Government to stop such attempts. But Government should understand at the same time that when punishments out of all proportion are accorded to such culprits, they serve to excite sympathy for the accused in the minds of the populace and hatred against the Government. In this trial also, the jury consisted of seven Europeans and many Indians were eliminated by being challenged by the prosecution. The article concluded with a hope that no more cases of such a nature will crop up here hereafter.

42. An editorial note in the KERALA PATRIKA, of the 22nd August, adverting to the determined attitude of the Asiatics in Transvaal not to submit to the Registration Act recently passed there with the express object of stopping Asiatic immigration into the country, says that nearly four thousand Asiatics assembled at Johensburg and tore off their registration licenses on the ground that Government are not willing to stand by the promise which they made at the time when reconciliation was effected. This vagaries of Europeans in the Colony will create serious race-hatred between them and Asiatics, among whom Indians alone are helpless, the Chinese and Japanese being able to retaliate.

Asiatics in South Africa.

For the week ending 5th September 1908.

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ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY NATIVES.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(b) Courts.

1. The WEDNESDAY REVIEW, of the 2nd September, writes:--

Sentences inflicted on offenders in the cases arising out of the present unrest.

"The sentences inflicted on offenders in the cases arising out of the present unrest cannot be said to have been in any instance lenient, and we do not counsel leniency where it is not deserved. The Judges who try the offenders and mete out punishment know best what should be severity of their sentences which would be suitable to each oase, and it is wrong to assume that they are unduly prejudiced and wantonly severe. But there is just the chance of the Judges taking a rather exaggerated view of the present political condition of the country and act in the belief that the punishments they award shold be unusually rigorous to warn off others and restore the country to its normal mood. That such an exaggerated notion of what ought to be done under the circumstances, has weighed with some of them, there can be no doubt, and we generally hear nothing short

of transportation for a longer or a shorter period as the case may be, in prosecutions for riot or sedition. The one offence is bad as the other and nobody will be justified in pleading for nominal sentences for such offences. But as we have said the severity of these punishments is more due to the false alarm raised by interested individuals and the Judges of the land ought not to allow themselves to share that alarm. Whatever that be the Governments concerned local or supreme, will not be showing weakness on their part of undue leniency towards the offenders if they magnanimously remit a portion of their sentences. It would be an act of clemency which would at once raise them in the estimation of the people and make those who speak and write ill of them ashamed of their own folly and ingratitude. It will on no account prove a misplaced act of kindness. On the contrary it would serve two purposes which must both go far in making the situation more tolerable. In this connection we should like to commend to the various local Governments the example set by Sir George Clarke. . . . ."

(k) General.

The arrest of Mr.G.Subramania Aiyar.

2. The COCHIN ARGUS, of the 29th August, writes:--"That the arrest of Mr.G.Subramania Aiyar, the veteran Madras journalist, the weather-beaten political leader, the former editor of the HINDU, and now the editor and proprietor of the SWADESAMITRAN, the widely circulated and the only Tamil daily in the Presidency has given the Indian community something of a shock and has been generally heard with feelings of regret is not at all astonishing for Mr.Subramania Aiyar undoubtedly bulks large in the public eye and in the estimation of his educated countrymen, who know that he has for over a quarter of a century worked hard, and even at the sacrifice of his own personal interests, for the political, social and material advancement of his country. As a politician, he has done good work in the past to advance the objects for which the National Congress exists, and as a social reformer, he has

by the very circumstances that he had his own widowed daughter remarried, he has proved himself to be no mere lip reformer, while as a student of economics, by his writings and his speeches and by his work for the National Fund and Industrial Association, he has done whatever lay in his power to promote the cause of genuine SWADESHI. All this and more is to his credit, and it is no wonder his own people hold him in very high respect and esteem It would be useless, however, to blind ourselves to the fact that he has latterly developed certain political tendencies, which are hardly compatible with professions of loyalty to the ruling power. His writings in the SWADESAMITRAN have of late lacked that tone of sobriety and that fair-mindedness to the Government and to the ruling race that we expected to find in a well-conducted newspaper, run with a sense of responsibility and with a proper appreciation of the difficulties of administration. A perusal of the articles which form the subject matter of the charge on which he has been arrested cannot fail to show any dispassionate reader that the bounds of legitimate and fair-minded criticism had been exceeded and that the articles were well calculated to foment race hatred, even if they have not actually done so.

3. The WEDNESDAY REVIEW, of the 2nd September, remarks:--

A plea for conciliation.

"Judging from the activities of the various local Governments, it would seem that there is not even one province where the organs of public opinion are untouched by the 'seditous' spirit. We have never condoned seditious language, nor do we maintain that when a body of people set at defiance law and order, incite men to open rebellion by means of 'velied sediton,' the Government should sit still and let the evil work itself out. But there are certain considerations which ought not to be ignored when a series of prosecutions are launched, without letting time operate, and before the effect of the convictions already secured in the case of certain offenders, could be seen upon the rest. We believe that whatever may be the weaknesses of the Indian

editors hankering after the goal diet is not one. It may be that they are mistaken in their notions, and impatient at the slowness with which the car of progress moves on in India. Under the circumstances, therefore, the local Governments ought to consider whether their prosecutions in rapid succession are calculated to serve their object. To any impartial observer certain outstanding facts in the political situation of the country, will be patent. Since the dawn of political life in justice, acknowledged British suzerainty, and resolved to work out their salvation mainly through British instrumentality and with British help. Many times they were within an ace of getting the fruits of their agitation; but in the end they have had to confess to a feeling of disappointment. There is no need to illustrate this. They believed that the Public Service commission would translate into action the spirit of the Queen's Proclamation where the idea of the supremacy of a ruling caste was emphatically abandoned. They believed that at all events the resolution of the House of Commons in favour of simultaneous examinations would be given effect to; but even that was sat upon by Lord Landsdowne and Sir Henry Fowler. In the matter of taxation and regulation of fiscal policy, they thought that the best consideration would be shown to Indian public question; but again they have been disappointed.

"After all the 'seditous' or 'revolutionary' spirit was the outcome of the Partition of Bengal and the theory of settled fact which put an end to any belief of the reopening of that administrative blunder. But a large and influential majority have held aloof from their spirit of 'distrust' in Englishmen, which others call 'revolution'. Admitted these facts, the situation is not at all serious. The best thing we would have expected and in fact which ought to have commended itself to the authorities, is one of conciliation and mutual understanding. That such a spirit succeeds best can be shown even by contemporary events.

"We would implore the Government to ask themselves if it is not time to cry, halt!"

4. The INDIAN PATRIOT, of the 5th September, writes:--"WE are heartily glad that the Government have withdrawn the charge of sedition against Mr.G.Subramania Aiyar, contending themselves with taking security proceedings under section 108 of the Criminal Pxxxx Code. It is a very considerate and very statesmanlike act on the part of Goernment who have thereby prevented an unfortunate impairment of the relations which have subsisted between the Government and the people of this Presidency, and have done justice to the past career of a noted public man who is not without claims on the Government. The effect will be as xx happy as the continuance of the prosecution would have been the reverse. Indeed, His Excellency the Governor could not have had much knowledge of the antecedents of Mr.G.Subramania Aiyar, and his colleagues and Secretaries could not have had as good a recollection as the Indian public of his career and services. But for this circumstance, probably, the Goverment would not have launched a prosecution against him; but after it was launched they had unmistakable proofs of the popular appreciation of his services, and of his own undoubted loyalty in the past. And the generous act they have done has a further significance as showing an absence of aloofness between the Government and the people, and the possibility of Government being easily able to understand and sympathise with the people's feelings. In Madras, for a long time, with one single exception, the Government and the public have seldom failed to understand each other well; and it would have been very unfortunate if, in an important matter like this, such an understanding had become impossible.

The release of Mr.G.Subramania Aiyar.

The HINDU, of the 5th September, observes:--". . . .The result of the case will give intense relief and satisfaction to all the people, high and low, throughout the country, and the Madras Government are entitled to the deepest gratitude of the Indian community for their most sympathetic and generous action in the matter. It is not often that we see the British Government in this country retracing a step once taken, or admitting an error of judgment in having taken a particular course of action.

In the present instance, far from the prestige of Government having been lowered by the humanitarian impulse which has dictated their action, we think all people will agree that the Government have increased a thousandfold their claims to the respect and confidence of the people, by the timely measure which they have taken. It is all the more gratifying to us to make this acknowledgment of what is due to the Government inasmuch as, immediately after the arrest of Mr.G.Subramania Aiyar for sedition became known, we pointed out in a leading article on the subject that Mr.G.Subramania Aiyar was fully entitled to the indulgence and forbearance of the Government by reason of various circumstances, and that action by way of warning or under section 108 of the Criminal Procedure Code would be a suitable first step. We do not know whether the Government are aware of the degree of shock to the public feeling and to the good will of the public towards the Government which was the result when the news of his prosecution became known. We cannot help thinking that the Government, when they resolved upon prosecuting Mr.G.Subramania Aiyar, vastly underestimated the hold which a public man of his standing, abilities and life-long service, has acquired upon the conscience of the people. A closer touch than that now existing between the responsible officers of Government and genuine leaders of public opinion would avert much misapprehension, and is to be wished for, from every point of view. We are extremely glad that whatever may have impelled the Government to undertake a prosecution--which, in our opinion, need not and ought not to have been instituted--the Government have so far shown themselves to be responsive to public feeling and opinion and alive to the actual necessities of the case by graciously withdrawing the prosecution and having recourse to a preventive measure provided by law. . ."

The MADRAS STANDARD, of the 6th September, remarks:--"We are glad that the Madras Government have withdrawn the prosecution against Mr.G.Subramania Aiyar. . . . Mr.Subramania Aiyar has stated his own feelings and disowned altogether any seditious intent

and given a substantial guarantee of good conduct in the future. He has undertaken to abstain from any agitation directed against the authority of Government or calculated to excite class or race hatred. Without offering any remarks on the merits of the prosecution, we may say that though Mr. Subramania Aiyar may have, at the heat of the moment, on some rare occasions, used strong language, he has been a loyal citizen who has always adopted constitutional methods of agitation and who has been one of the foremost to condemn disorderly conduct on the part of any of his countrymen. Those who know him personally know also that he has been throughout life a quiet and peace-loving man. Age, will ill-health and public disappointments may have occasionally made him use strong language. But at heart and by nature he has been a most loyal subject and a law-abiding citizen, a fact about which his co-workers have had no doubt whatever. We cannot be too grateful to the Madras Government for the humanity and consideration they have shown in regard to Mr. Subramania Aiyar's case. With that large-hearted benevolence characteristic of British statesmanship they have bestowed their best thoughts on the various aspects of Mr. Subramania Aiyar's case, and have withdrawn the charges against him, of course on certain definite conditions. This act of the Government will leave a very good impression on the public mind and draw towards them the gratitude of all classes of people in this Presidency, who will now see what a great and just Government can and will do. We again repeat that Sir Arthur Lawley and his colleagues have done an act which will, in spite of the so-called unrest in India, make the wheels of the Local Government run smooth and justly entitle this Presidency to be knwon as one of the most peaceful and loyal of Indian Provinces."

VI. MISCELLANEOUS.

Self-government for India.

5. In an article discussing the constitutional changes which have been taking place in other countries, the UNITED INDIA AND NATIVE STATES, of the 29th August, has the following:--"Coming nearer home, what are the lessons we have to learn from the events occurring in other countries. Are we now fit for self-government, even on Colonial lines? Whatever may be said of the existence of some form of representative Government in times beyond the reach of memory, the fact remains that the India of to-day can boast of but little experience in self-government, that it is peopled by different races professing--may we not say--antagonistic religions. The Hindu religion is divided into various sects and castes between whom there is a divergence of interest which has no parallel in any other country. A non-Brahmin feels aggrieved that the Brhahmin is cleverer and that he bosses everywhere. The Brahmin feels that the Muhammadan are in special favour because they are playing to the gallery. Really, it may be a libel on the latter, but the fact remains that there is no oneness of feeling. For ourselves, we do not think there is the ghost of a chance of our securing self-government, much less of our making it a success, until we have done away with the assumption of superiority by reason of our being born in one particular caste, until we have educated ourselves to believe that we are Indians and subjects of the same Sovereign first, and people professing different faiths afterwards, and last, but not least, until we have sunk our personal and communal interests and are prepared to treat another Indian, whatever his caste or creed, as a brother. Until such a time arrives, self-government, in whatever form, would be an anomaly and will never secure the greatest good of the greatest number. What the world yearns for is democracy, not plutocracy."

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

I. FOREIGN POLITICS.

The Indians in Transvaal.

6. The INDIA, of the 29th August, says:--We thought that the sufferings of the Indians in the Transvaal would come to an end with the compromise that was effected last month, but they have not yet ceased. The whitemen there have again begun to enact the old scenes and the situation is getting utterly intolerable. Three thousand Asiatics, who could not brook the iniquitous deeds of the Government, held a meeting, a week ago, at a mosque in Johannesburg, when, it would appear, four hundred Indians and Chinese threw into the fire and burnt the registration certificates granted to them by the Government. On that occasion, Sriman Gandhi expressed it as his desire that he would rather spend all his life in the jail than brook being treated like a slave by the heartless whitemen.

When, in the beginning, the Indians agreed to get themselves registered, the Government promised to repeal the Registration Act; subsequently the Minister Mr.Smutts began to deny having given any such pledge. But the iniquity having proved too much even to the mind of that Minister, the Indians were informed that the Act would be repealed in case they agreed to certain ignominious conditions. Our countrymen, did not submit to those conditions, and from it have arisen fresh troubles. Many of our men are in jail, and it is reported that even the son of Mr.Gandhi has been sent to jail. It is a matter for satisfaction that our countrymen are heroically facing the situation in the midst of so many sufferings.

The KISTNAPATRIKA, of the 30th August, states that the treatment of the Indians by the Government of the Transvaal is regretted much by the civilised world. But it appears from the telegrams received of late that differences between the Government and the Indians are being set right. It would be well if the Viceroy or the Secretary of State for India should take interest in this matter and do the needful.

The NADEGANNADI, of the 29th August, observes that in the Transvaal including Hindus and Muhammadans who were arrested and sentenced to (one month's) rigorous imprisonment by the Transvaal Government for not taking out licenses are said to have asked for even more severe punishment. The paper remarks that it is evident from this (attitude) what courage and presistence these Indians in the Transvaal have. But their brethren in the mother country have yet to acquire such courage.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(b) Courts.

The Tilak trial.

9. The INDIA, of the 29th August, observes:--It may be that the authorities think they have punished Sri Tilak according to justice; but it is a very poor satisfaction, unless the majority of the people are also convinced that it is so. In this case, not only our own countrymen, but the people of other countries also, are displeased at Justice Davar's decision. And English ex-Member of Parliament, writing to a Paris journal about this case, observes as follows:--"I am not going to discuss here whether Tilak is guilty or not, for there was no trial at all in his case. When a jury composed of the members of the same race and a partial Judge try a man and deprive him of his life or liberty, it is not trial. Such a practice obtained in England three centuries ago. The Englishmen are now adopting the same in the case of India and Ireland. This is neither trial nor justice. There is as much affinity betweeh this procedure and justice as between poison and food and between piracy and honest trade. Tilak was tried for the crime of having written certain matters in an Indian language. Of his eight jurors, seven were foreigners utterly ignorant of that language and entertaining hostile motives. The Hindus and the Muhammadans were entirely kept out of the jury. It is only they who make such a farce of administering the law that are the real enemies of justice." Mr-Hyndman, another Englishman, says, that he is going to speak

in every village in England, condemning the sentence passed on Tilak as most ignominious and unjust. So much disgust and indignation has the "justice" administered by Justice Davar produced on the minds of even the Englishmen.

What has taken place in the Tilak case seems to be the rule in almost all the sedition cases. What can we do? There is no use telling the authorities about this, and we are tried of speaking to the people on this again, and again, afor they do not seem to pay the least attention to it.

(k) General.

The prosecution of G.Subramania Aiyar.

14. The INDIA, of the 29th August, observes:--We are very much surprised to hear the Government say that seditious articles were published in the journal of Sri G.Subramania Aiyar. We are not aware of any fault in him, except that he has been working day and night for this country for the last thirty years. We have very often differed from him on political questions, and have on that account criticised him from time to time. Believing, as we always do, that he is one of our ardent patriots, we thought that there was no room for apprehending any troubles to him from the authorities ever since his separation from the camp ofthe Nationalists known as the "New Party". But it would appear that the authorities wanted to bring to book some great leader of the people in every place and have conveniently made a scape-goat of Sri Subramania Aiyar. We read the alleged seditious articles in his journal and have not been able to find in what corner sedition is lurking in them. We think that with the help of the magical eye-salve which the authorities have anointed their eyes with, we would also be able to discover sedition in them. It is, perhaps, the will of the Mother that Sri G.Subramania Aiyar who has served her for the last thirty years should end his life in the worship of her sacred feet. The aged and invalid

patriot cannot stand the strain of a prison life, if he is incarcerated now. We pray to the Mother that this great man may be spared from undergoing any severe hardships.

The repressive policy of the Government.

15. A London correspondent of the INDIA, of the 29th August says:--It seems that the Government in India have determined to pursue the policy of repression to the bitter end. It is rumoured that Ethiraj Surendranath Arya, Hari Sarvothama Rao and Bodi Narayana Rao have been arrested. Counsels like the TIMES advise that the best way to put down the riots is to send all the Congress leaders to jail. It is, indeed, a matter of great surprise to us why such a trifling matter as this, viz., that repressive measures are not at all suited to the present state of India, should not have got into the minds of the Government officials after so many years of experience.

The introduction of administrative reforms is the only remedy for allaying the present unrest.

16. Referring to the tragic murder of Narendra Goswami who turned King's evidence in the Maniktola bomb case by two Bengali youths who are under-trial prisoners in the same case, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 1st September, observes: This incident will no doubt throw the Government into uncontrollable excitement, and we fear that Bengal will have to face even more troubles than those which befell her during the last two years on account of the repressive measures. Henceforth there will be no end of fresh arrests, searches and prosecutions. Though this is the view that first suggested itself to us regarding the line of action which the Government will take in this matter, we yet believe there are men of courage and intelligence in the Government, who would not go on permitting

603 arrests to be made ~~on a~~ on a large scale by suspecting the people more and more so as to wound their susceptibilities. We dare say there are many in the Government who would think it were better that the people entertain hope and love than harbour suspicion and fear,

and we trust that they will guard themselves against excitement and indignation getting the better of them and will act with an unbiassed mind and with firmness without resorting to violent measures. We have many a time ~~loyalty to an confidence in the Government, and that~~ strongly pointed out that ninety-nine per cent. of the Indians have ustinted loyalty to and confidence in the Government and that they heartily abhor the bomb throwers. We, therefore, trust that the Englishmen would do nothing amiss in the exictement of the moment, but will introduce at once the reforms promised by Lords Morley and Minto If Lords Morley and Minto really believe that the only proper remedy to allay the unrest in India is, as they have often told us, to admit the people to higher rights in the administration of the country, those reforms should be promptly introduced. At certain critical periods in the history of the English people, the best traits of their national character have come into bold prominence. It is exactly at such critical times that a nation's true character is put to the test. Therefore it behoves the Englishmen to show their best qualities at this critical juncture of the disturbed state of India. Now is the time for the best statesmen to come to the front. Indeed, there are now such men among them. One of them, Mr.W.T.Stead, the editor of the highly influential REVIEW OF REVIEWS, states that the situation in India is getting worse day by day, that severe punishments have not been productive of any good and that while the people in Japan, China, Russia, Persia and Turkey are struggling ~~while the people in Japan,~~ for their fights, it is but proper that the Indians also should strive in the same direction, and remarks that it is not proper to suppress the new spirit in India by the ~~infliction~~ infliction of cruel punishments and that the Government should fulfil the expectations of the Indians. The present Governor of Bombay is another of such true statesmen. Seeing that the excesses committed by the people in Bombay are due to their exasperation on account of the prosecution of Tilak, he has mitigated the punishments inflicted upon the rioters. The Government should realise that it is

the doing of such acts as ~~pisters.--The~~ this, which inspire the people with hope and love, that should be adopted as the proper course. The Muhammadans in Bombay held celebrations in connection with the introduction of new reforms in Turkey. Such instances as these only point to the prevalence of a widespread new craving throughout India and, therefore cruel punishments should not be inflicted, acting on the wild effusions of the Anglo-Indian press. The punishments inflicted on Chidambaram Pillai, Tilak, Gurunatha Aiyar and Lokanatha Aiyar are appalling. We have several times observed that Messrs. Keir Hardie, Nevinson, Gokhale and Dutt have also said, that it is wrong on the part of the Government will of India to suppose that peace will be restored by terrorising the people by the infliction of severe punishments. The goodwill of the Government will become patent only when it sympathises and ~~wi~~ co-operates with us by heartily introducing the necessary reforms for laying the foundations of SWARAJ. All the Indian leaders who maintain that the British Government is indispensable for our progress will doubtless work hand in hand with the Government. When in the Great Indian Mutiny that took place in 1857, a hue and cry was raised by a great many, the Government quietly ignored it and pardoned many persons and the Queen-Empress Victoria spoke words of sympathy. Immediately the result was the marvellous advent of peace and love among the people. Similarly, we hope, the British will respect the Indians and realise that they too have got their precious ideals and fond aspirations, which it is their duty to fulfil.

The arrest of Mr.G.Subramania Aiyar.

18. The NADEGANNADI, of the 29th August, referring to the arrest of Mr.G.Subramania Aiyar, observes:--Mr.Aiyar is held in great esteem by the people on account of his ability and services to the country. If Government should begin to oppress men like Mr.Aiyar, none can regard himself as safe in these days (of repres-

sion). It is the panic in the minds of the European authorities that brings these popular leaders to grief. It is highly regrettable that the situation should have come to this.

IV. NATIVE STATES.

The first fruits of Press Legislation in Mysore.

19. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 1st September, writes:--When the new Press Act was passed in Mysore, the Government of that State might not have anticipated what amount of harm could result from that measure. Possibly that Government thought it had made the necessary arrangements to keep the press bridled so that its tone might be pacified and the appearance of virulent articles and leaders might come to an end. Naturally, nothing but evil has resulted from that Act. As the first fruits of that Act, five long-standing newspapers have been, one after another, discontinued, of which two were being published in the English language and the rest in the vernacular. None of them was discontinued on account of any pecuniary difficulties, all of them having taken this step with a sense of precaution and self-defence so as to avoid being caught in the network of the new law spread by that Government. It is surprising, indeed, that such a measure should have been passed during the regime of Mr. V.P. Madhava Rao.

The Mysore Press Law.

20. The NADEGANNADI, of the 29th August, bids farewell to the public with the observation that on account of the new law, it is no longer possible to continue journalism in Mysore consistently with honesty and self-respect. The only way to safe existence, it says, is either to avoid discussing political matters or flatter the Government officials. As it is in political matters that the people require to be chiefly educated through newspapers, a newspaper which does not discuss politics is of no use. When even such long-standing papers as the

HERALD and the CHINTAMONY find it necessary to stop NADEGANNADI would not venture to continue especially because the journalists have no means of knowing what kind of writings are allowable and what not. The paper further observes that journalism in India began only with the establishment of the British rule in India, and in Mysore it is even of much later origin and in Canarese it was seldom paying, and the only consideration that the owners had in conducting them was that it gave employment to some people and educated the masses in the general methods of administration and if Government should now remove an important means of educating the public, Government would themselves be placing a barrier in the path of progress and the publishers cannot in any way be regarded as losers. It is surprising that Government, should seem so ignorant of the effect of their action.

Commenting on the new Press Law, the VEERAKESARI, of the 15th August, (but published only this week) observes:--How many months' notice had the public about the introduction of the new Bill into the Legislative Council? What was the opinion of the public thereon? Why was its promulgation kept secret? Why was the discussion over it finished at a single sitting? Why was it passed in such a hurry? How many newspapers in Mysore were hostile to Government or His Highness the Maharaja, how many were given to publishing canards and how many were engaged in bringing the Government into contempt? Had the Government no authority to to punish newspapers which abused their liberty, prior to the passing of the new Bill; or was it not sufficient? What was the authority in stopping (killing) the DESABHIMANI and suspending the STANDARD or issuing a letter of warning to the SURYODAYA PRAKASIKA? Had not the Mysore Government authority to use even stronger powers, when necessary, than those which the new law gives? Was that authority insufficient to punish any dangerous newspapers? It will probably be contended that these laws had been passed before the Legislative Council came into existence and had not therefore obtained its assent. But will a sham discussion in the Legislative Council make the new law more acceptable? Was it with a view to restore peace in

Mysore that the new law was passed or was it passed with the object of merely giving vent to the vexation of the Officials? Was the assent of the Government of India obtained before passing it? Are the Members of the Legislative Council able to give satisfactory replies to the above interrogations?

The paper then remarks that it is highly regrettable that the people of the whole of Mysore should thus be made to be at the mercy of a handful of Government officials. The people have no voice in any matter-no authority to point out the defects in the administration--no means of urging their own interests. Of what use, then, are the Legislative Council and the Representative Assembly? Is there anything more helpful in ascertaining public opinion than newspapers? The article, in conclusion, hopes that the Government of India will come to the rescue of the people of Mysore and remove their present distress so as to afford proof of a just and liberal policy which always characterises it.

The effects of the new Press Law.

21. Commenting on the fact that nearly five or six newspapers stopped publication all at once, the MYSORE STAR, of the 31st August, observes that though it must be admitted that the new Press law is even more stringent than the law in the British territories, there is nothing in it to compel the newspapers to stop publication. Even if the law be a thousand times more stringent, a righteous man will not fear it. Those who have real zeal in the cause of the country will not withdraw at the mere sight of obstacles in their way. If the new measure be considered grossly unjust, it is all the more their duty to point out its injustice and try to bring about its withdrawal. The paper then alludes to the kind and merciful disposition of His Highness, and says that it must never be supposed that His Highness will, at any time, be a party to the punishment of a newspaper which has been found to contribute to the real progress of the country. Besides there are only a very few

people in Mysore who have as yet understood the value of newspapers and it is too early to expect even these to realise the loss and fight on their behalf. The paper then prays to God that the panic which now exists in the minds of the authorities may soon disappear, and the new Press law, the very sight of which has caused the death of so many newspapers, may be withdrawn and that the papers which have now stopped publication may reappear.

VI. MISCELLANEOUS.

Students and politics.

22. A Natal correspondent of the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 1st September, reporting the proceedings of a meeting of a students' political club, remarks:--My object in writing about these proceedings here is not to offer advice to those who condemn students in our country taking part in politics, but only to urge on our young men the necessity of forming political clubs like those in Natal and acquiring experience in political matters. For everything perseverance is necessary. Which young men observing the losses and sufferings of our countrymen in India itself and of those who live in the white colonies within the Empire, will not be grieved at heart? And if the sufferings, losses and insults to which out countrymen are subject became impressed on the tender minds of our youths even before family cares begin to affectx them, will they think of doing any other thing than strive to remove such hardships? Therefore it is highly necessary that the devoted patriots of our country, should encourage our students in this matter.

The courage of conviction exhibited by the whites in Natal.

23. The SAME correspondent of the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 2nd September, writing about a meeting of reform party in the Natal Parliament, which is agitating for certain changes in the constitution of the Parliamentary

electorate observes:--Of the many stirring speeches delivered on the occasion, that of Dr.C.H.Hawker is noteworthy. He said:- "We are tired of having talked till now. It has not been of any avail. Hereafter we shall have to show everything in action even at the risk of going to jail. There is nothing wrong in our going to jail while several others better than ourselves had been and are still in jail. Neither is there any good in seeing the Governor. What then are we to do? 'No representation, no taxation.' Take your stand on this dictum of our forefathers and do not pay any taxes till our wishes are satisfied." How many are there in our country who have the boldness to talk like this? Not one Indeed. Talk and you are put down as a seditionists. What pity! What can we say of those people, who are born, bred and educated along with us in our own country but who imagine themselves to be superior beings, not understanding what is good for their country and the public at large, the moment they get some Government appointments! The whites referred to above did not stop with those speeches. They made an effigy of the Prime Minister Mr.Moor and burnt it in that meeting and buried his ashes deposited in a box. But what takes place in our own country? The whole world knows the punishments inflicted on the editors in our country for the last so many months and yet, with referance to the punishment of three years' imprisonment inflicted on one of the editors of our country, one of the newspapers of this country has remarked that though the infliction of punishment on editors is a sad circumstance, it is a matter for rejoicing if they are punished for sedition. How does this look?

24. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 2nd September, observes:--

The murder of approver Goswami in Bengal.

The brutal murders committed by the misguided fanatics of Bengal have produced great abhorrence in the minds of all. The loathing felt at the murder of Goswami is even greater than the surprise and abomination created by the assassination of the

two lady relations of Mr.Kennedy by Khudiram and others. As the STATESMAN has remarked, a murder is murder whatever view may be taken of the motives of Goswami in having traitourously turned Kign's evidence in the bomb case. The throwing of bombs to take away human life is opposed to the very mature of the Indian race. Their traditions, scriptures, religion and history are all against it. It will only create suspicion against the Indians and impede their work for the country and the results expected of such work. As the Government does not object to honsw honest SWADESHI and as many Englishmen advise us that by practising boycott of foreign goods, we can achieve many advantages, we may, by adopting the above means and by promoting union and education among ourselves, secure SWARAJ in course of time. A As this is the basis for the aspirations of the new movement, the Englishmen should understand that that movement has nothing to do with the bomb outrages; and we hope that innocent men who had no connection whatever with these outrages will not be suspected and brought to trouble. On the representations made by certain Englishmen that these disturbances have been caused by the Government having left the Extremists to themselves without taking any action against them, the Government passed certain severe laws and was carrying on a campaign of arrests, searches and prosecutions; and we thought that as a result of these measures the unrest would cease. But everybody will admit that the state of affairs in Bengal is far from satisfactory. Fortunately the other provinces have not imitaxted Bengal in this respect, and we consider that Sir Clarke, the Governor of Bombay, and Sir Hewitt, of the United Provinces, are acting with the insight of true statesmen. As peace and perseverance in a country are far more in keeping with the greatness and authority of the Government than the pompous conduct of sedition cases and the staggering institution of arrests and searches, we hope the Government will go to the very root of the disturbances and introduce the necessary reforms."

25. The NYAYABHIMANI, of the 24th August, writes as follows in course of a leading article:--

"The aim of our journal"

One of the great enemies to the welfare of the people is the English Government that pursues a policy which is worse than despotic. Despotic kings always rule obstinately according to their will and pleasure, banishing forbearance and equality. It is natural that under such a Government many will be happy and many, miserable. The Anglo-Indian Government is the only one which seeks to attain imperial greatness by ensnaring all the people of the country in delusive complications, by setting one against another, by indulging in a wholesale robbery by means of false shows of justice, cunning actions and enticing words and by leaving the people to the mercy of famine and plunder. By fraud and ambition, the Anglo-Indian Government is raising itself to a unique position. To inspire courage into the minds of our men who groan under such a Government by words of sympathy and to suggest to them various means of securing happiness by timely advices is the chief aim of our journal. It is ignorance and acting against human nature to identify oneself always with the strong party, while sympathy for the weak and disinterested work in the cause of the oppressed are alone praiseworthy.

26. The NYAYABHIMANI, of the 24th August, observes:--True strength is not physical might, but national unity.

What is true strength?

What prevents you from becoming united at present are your caste distinctions and religious animosities. You should do your best to remove these impediments and also train the younger generation to love union and shun party feeling. It is no use indulging in talk any more, except so far as is necessary to awaken you from your lethargy. You should be up and respond to the call of those patriots who go about from place to place, exhorting the people to action. Your enemies are now weak. To speak the truth, everybody is displeased with them and secretly hating

them. They are diminishing in strength and the time is fast approaching when they will meet with destruction, root and branch. It is very unfortunate that you should be weak at this juncture. When your enemies are losing strength and coming down to the level of weak men like yourselves, is it not the duty of the wise among you to make haste and gather your strength? You should not lose this opportunity.

If your enemies who have the strength of arms take away this time from you, you will have no strength left. You should therefore realise the Godgiven strength you have and try to xxx increase it. A Government that fosters enmity among the people is like a man who has contracted leprosy which is eating into his flesh. Everything is now being done on the principle that might is right. The time may come when the same principle might be adopted by the people. The lessons you have learnt in this respect from the Judges and officials, who are actuated by partiality and racial feeling are enough indeed.

Therefore, O ye Indians! Become united and lash your enemies with the whips of SWADESHI and boycott of foreigners, which you now hold in your hands and everything will come round of itself. Every man in a family should set this example, and when all the families follow this example as one man, that very day will SWARAJ be established.

A Mahatma's exhortaton.

27. A correspondent of the NYAYABHIMANI, of the 24th August xxxxxxxxxx remarks:--O ye shameles Hindu youths indulging in pompous worship while your Mother is burning with indignation? What do you learn from this cruel punishment inflicted on these two ornaments of our country, who have striven xxxx hard to work for us? Will you run away and hide yourselves in your houses, fearing that a similar fate might overtake you? Or will you march forward with heroic exultation? Takex courage and be merry and hopeful, for good times have come for us. "Throw a sprat to catch a whale" says the proverb. We threw the sprat in the

shape of the despicable Englishmen has, by the grace of God, gladly devoured the sprat; but the bait which was thrust into the aprat has got into its throat. Hereafter it has no chance of escaping, unless it runs away after surrendering its throat. But since the white whale is a little bulky, it will not be possible to drag it to the shore if only a few of us try to do it. On the other hand, if all of us who are the children of Mother Bhrata combine together and draw it ashore, we doubt not that the white whale will reach the shore without much difficulty to any of us and may be cooked as curry this very night for our homes.

Therefore swear by the name of your family gods, and all combine and work together. You will certainly prosper with your wives and children.

The future of the Madras Presidency.

28. The NYAYABHIMANI, of the 24th August, says:--The partition of Bengal was followed by riots and the appearance of seditious newspapers culminating in the boycott of foreign things and the ideal of SWARAJ being preached. The Government met the danger by suppressing the Press and the result was the appearance of bombs and the advent of the Nihilists. The more the prosecutions, by Government, of the popular leaders and the editors, the deeper did the SWADESHI and boycott movement and the SWARAJ ideal begin to strike root. Then came the unjust arrest and the trial of our Bal Gangadhar Tilak and the province of Bombay rose to the occasion by presenting a scene of serious riots. Ever since, SWADESHI and boycott are in full swing in Bombay, Seeing that the Madras Presidency alone was composed of disintegrating elements, while those of Bengal and Bombay presented a united front, the Government has begun to launch a series of prosecutions in this Presidency. It is very unfortunate that at the present time there should be disunion in the Madras Presidency where once there were public spirited men, patriots, and distinguished, men. It is hoped that our people will at once

of the abovementioned patriots, pinned to the bait of our love and were ~~bid~~ bidding our time. It is only now that the white whale in shape of the

give up their differences and rise to eminence by all of them--young and old, men and women--adopting SWADESHISM and boycott of foreign goods. Did the editors of the SWADESAMITRAN and the INDIA throw dust into the eyes of the Government? Or did they collect any army to incite the people to rise in rebellion? To speak the truth, the SWADESAMITRAN was restrained in its tone ~~and~~ which betrayed much fear and anxiety in handling political topics. As for the INDIA, it never wrote any lie. What it wrote was in the best interests of the people. It did not preach the manufacture of bombs, the massacre of the Englishmen or the perpetration of any other crimes. In spite of all this, the Government arrested the editors of those papers and have unjustly kept them in jail. It is certain that the people of the Madras Presidency will no more brook such injustices being done to our editors and countrymen. Hence co-operation among the people and the good resulting therefrom will characterize the future of the Madras Presidency.

The arrests of Messrs.G. Subramania Aiyar and Srinivasachari.

29. While commenting on the arrests of Messrs. G.Subramania Aiyar and Srinivasachari, the NYAYABHIMANI, of the 24th August, remarks:--Though Mr.Subramania Aiyar was enjoying a holiday in quiet retirement at Courtallum, his evil star pursued him even there. People are never free from the pursuit of such evil stars, whatever they may go. There is no patriot who has escaped the evil influence of the English Saturn (evil star). We can quite understand the prosecution of the INDIA for it was said by many that it was using strong language in discussing political questions; but we are at a loss to know what seditious articles in the SWADESAMITRAN necessitated its prosecution, especially in the face of the general complaint that this journal was not discussing questions boldly and that even while commenting on real facts it proceeded very cautiously and did not criticise the Government. The fact that for the last one and a half months this journal is being

printed on SWADESHI paper instead of on foreign paper as it used to be before that, might have proved a big piece of sedition. Or it may be that the Government did not like to see the Madras Presidency in a state of tranquillity. How can they help it? Will it be statesmanlike to leave it in that state? Many leaders have to be imprisoned and transported and we do not know how many have to give up their lives as martyrs before a country can gain independence and reap its benefits. If a country's independence can be acquired with but little exertion, there will be no country in the world which is dependent. It is not known how many persons have yet to go to jail, how many families will be left helpless, how many lives have to be sacrificed, how many riots have to take place and how long the Anglo-Indian despotism which rules with the help of might will continue thus. Anyhow the Government is not pleased with the rise and abatement of unrest in one or two places alone like Tinnevelly and Cocanada in this Presidency. Perhaps it is the decree of God that more serious riots should take place and inspire the people with greater ardour and zeal, so that SWADESHI and boycott may a a in gain a stronger footing even in the Madras Presidency. Popular indignation and ardour are being fostered. Can the Englishmen avert the decree of God?

Which way to go?

30. The VEERAKESARI, of the 15th August, (but published i only this week), observes that in these days of repression when the editors of newspapers have to expect every moment a warrant of arrest, it would be wiser to publish only news without making comments on them. The paper, therefore, asks the readers not to expect in future any discussions on political subjects in newspapers or when sometimes such discussions do appear, not to mind the opinions expressed therein because the writers will be careful to avoid vehement criticisms in every case. The paper further observes that though the duty of a journalist is always to have the interests of the people at heart and to praise or

condemn the policy of Government according as its measures are just or unjust, the present day authorities seem always to expect to a defence of their policy. It then asks the readers not to lessen their encouragement to newspapers because the writings therein may be inspid, for at a time when the Press has been completely gagged, encouragement and shrewdness on the part of the readers are required even to a larger degree than heretofore. The paper also seems to suggest that it will no longer discuss political matters in its columns. It says that the foreign pen (the nib) alone is useful in writing on political subjects and the writer's own pen having got rusty, he will next take up only a SWADESHI pen which will not write on politics.

The cause of the poverty of India.

32. A leader in the NAZRANI DIPIKA, of the 25th August, says that the annual depletion of 2 crores of sovereigns from India to England, the enormity of the taxes and the employment of foreigners in highly salaried posts in the country are some of the telling causes that tend to the increase of poverty of India. In England the average annual income of a man is £42, whereas an Indian's annual earnings do not go beyond £2 and even out of this, half a sovereign has to be paid in the shape of taxes. The trade between the English and the ruined Indians will gradually decline the lifeblood of India is being steadily and rapidly drained away from her. If the enhanced taxes are spent in the country the money will not be lost to it, but when the sum realised is taken from the country it cannot but be injured. The article says that even trade is passing into the hands of the foreigners and that the leaders and Government should take steps to improve the condition of the people.

For the week ending 12th September 1908.

No. 37 of 1908.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY NATIVES-

I. FOREIGN POLITICS.

The Indians in the Transvaal

1. The DAILY POST, of the 8th September, contains the following:--"The Transvaal trouble is worse than what it ever has been. The telegraphic news which we have been receiving of late is full of arrests of deported Indians who have returned to the country and the last message from Reuter is to the effect that eleven of them have given themselves up voluntarily at Volksrust. This is evidently the result of the campaign laid down by Mr.Gandhi in consultation with the ~~other leaders of the campaign laid down by Mr.Gandhi in consultation with the~~ other leaders of the Indians in Transvaal. Their programme was that arrangement should be made to get back all the Indians deported and that in doing so, it did not matter whether they were arrested and imprisoned or deported or fined. A few days ~~latt~~ after this campaign was vigorously taken in hand, a private, but authentic, message was received by the British Indian Association that General Smuts was willing to waive all his conditions if the Indians would agree to one solitary amendment in the Immigration Law excluding all Asiatics, however highly ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ educated or ~~xxxxxx~~ qualified they might be. Though practically, this was tantamount to gaining every point in regard to the resident Indians, it placed them in a very ~~xxxx~~ strange position. The situation was, indeed, very critical to the ~~xxx~~ Indians who had carried on a vigorous struggle for over two years for the honour and interest of their brethren and country, and though the test was a terrible one, they emerged from it with flying colours. . . . . .

Cry from the Transvaal

2. The INDIAN PATRIOT, of the 12th September, publishes the following:--"The struggle which our countrymen are carrying on

with the Boer Government has assumed a most acute stage, and will attract the attention of the entire civilised world. The situation may be gauged from a telegram from Johansesburg which mentions the imprisonment of dealing Indians. All these have preferred to go to jail claiming the right to enter the colony., and among them are ~~the~~ all the different classes of Indians.
The struggle promises to be a severe and prolonged one;
and our countrymen are truly being disciplined by suffering;
The manner in which they are acting shows that an Indian nationality is easiest realised in foreign lands where there is no other race to oppress them all. The Boers, however, have done nothing extraordinary, nothing out of the way. They merely tried to deceive the Indians, and they succeeded at first, just in the same way that they hope to deceive the English, and have partially succeeded in doing. so. With the grant of self-government, the Boer ambition to re-establish Boer supremacy has gained strength. Installed as the dominant element in the new Government, they feel they have got everything they wished. Of course, it was their old ambition to drive the English into the sea, and establish a grand Boer empire in South Africa. This they were not permitted to realise by Mr.~~Chidamb~~ Chamberlain and Lord Milner. But now that they have got the upper hand, they hope slowly to remove all obstacles. They will as cleverly deal with the English as the Indians; they know that any Indian can be treated contemptuously because he has no political power; but with the English they will deal with greater caution, because if they are seriously provoked again, they will not hesitate to change the character of the Government forthwith. In the end, however, we have no doubt the Boers will have the upper hand, and Englishmen, if they want to get their due, may have to wage another disastrous war. After Majuba they got on wonderfully until they had collected enough of arms and ammunition to fight the English; and we shall not at all be surprised if history repeats itself once again. The race spirit is ~~practically~~ particularly

strong in the Boers, and everything they have been doing is to improve their own position. When such is their tendency towards conquerors themselves, it is no wonder that they are so intolerant towards Indians. They have determined to make existence difficult if not impossible, for the latter; our countrymen realising this fully have appealed to us for help and sympathy; and we have a clear duty to them. Our Government is bound to stand by us; and the Imperial Government ought to be appealed to for an impartial settlement of the dispute. It is the Imperial Government that makes the very existence of the colony possible, and while affording them their protection they are in common fairness bound to protect the Indian subjects of His Majesty as well. They are not expected to maintain the Boers in power in order to enable them to oppress Indians. And the people in India are bound to make a common appeal at this juncture when our countrymen are being so deliberately oppressed."

3. The INDIAN PATRIOT, of the 7th September, observes:;-

Indians as British citizens

"That those who are citizens of the Empire have equal status and rights is the only rational conception of common citizenship. This may not mean the enjoyment of the same rights in all parts of the Empire. But it does mean that, wherever certain rights are enjoyed, they must be common to all subjects. In India, for example, British born subjects have not the same rights as they enjoy in their own country; but that is because Indian subjects themselves have not these rights. If the Englishman has no vote in India, so has not the Indian. Both are alike in status. And if we transfer ourselves to Britain, there we have the same status and the same rights as the Britisher. An Indian may acquire the vote by resistence, by acquisition of property and interests. He may enter Parliament. He may even become a Minister of State. There is no sort of legal obstacle in his way. He can become as good as an Englishman in the matter of citizenship. This

is the established principle accepted without question both as regards Britain and as regards India. There is no governing caste in either, no differentiation between one class of citizens and another. But this unexceptionable principle has no operation in the colonies of Britain; and the moment an Indian subject xxxx of the King sets his foot on the colonial soil he finds himself deprived completely of his status and rights as a British citizen. He does not keep his status as a subject, but is forced to accept that of the 'coolie'. He is no longer subject to equal laws, and he can live on colonial soil only by sufferance and under condition which make him a helpless slave. The colonial, whether British or foreign, becomes his superior, his master, and the sole disposer of his status, property or interests. The colonial legislature makes laws which are intended to deppive him of his citizenship; and the Imperial Government is helpless to enforce its principles or laws in favour of Indian subjects of His Majesty. Imperial statesmen tell us plainly that they are helpless against colonial sentiment and colonial pretensions, and they have to yield to the inevitable Colonial sentiment, we are told, is strong against Indian immigrants and settlers; and Imperial Government cannot force their will upon self-governing countries though they are parts of the Empire.

III HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) General.

The release of Mr.G.Subramania Aiyar.

4. The UNITED INDIA AND NATIVE STATES, of the 5th September writes:--"The Government of His Excellency Sir Arthur Lawley has placed the whole of the people this Presidency of all shades of political views under a deep debt of obligation by withdrawing the case already filed against Mr.G.Subramania Aiyar and asking for his release on his furnishing security for good behaviour.

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"By following the above course, the Government have clearly indicated that they have no desire to be vindictive, and Mr. Subramania Aiyar has by his conduct in readily undertaking to desist from public writing and speaking demonstrated the genuineness of his declaration.

"Mr.Subramania Aiyar's hold on the affection and gratitude of the people is as extensive as it is strong, and it was certainly an act of statesmanship on the part of the Government to have so agreeably terminated a prosecution which, had it been allowed to continue, might, on the one hand, have proved disastrous to the life of a public man of good and honourable repute and, on the other, to embitter the relations between the Government and the people. We congratulate the Government on the wise step they adopted in this case and Mr.Subramnia Aiyar on the comparatively hap y termination of the case against him."

5. The INDIAN PATRIOT, of the 8th September, remarks:--

Separation of functions.

"The British Indian Association of Calcutta is the first public body to pronounce an opinion on the scheme of the separation of judicial and executive functions, formulated by the Government of India. This influential body of zamindars has in a letter to the Government of Bengal expressed its approval of the general prniciple underlying the scheme; but it is not satisfied in the manner in which the principle is sought to be given effect to the actual working of it. The proposal to have two officers, called respectively the District officer and the senior Magistrate, the former to be the executive head and the latter to be in charge of the magisterial and judicial business of the district, is accepted as being calculated to effectively remedy the abuses resulting from the exercise of the dual functions of the Magistrate and Judge by one and the same officer, but not so the other proposal which aims at keeping both as hithertofore under executive control and supervision. They suggest that the officers permanently allotted to the judicial service should

be wholly under the control of High Courts, and that their work should come under the supervision of the same authority and their transfer and promotion should also be controlled by it. In other words, Judicial officers should on no account be amenable to executive authority, but their work and character should be judged entirely by men who themselves exercise appellate and revisional authority over them. It is impossible for the executive form a correct estimate of judicial work, since it is not their business to acquaint themselves in detail with the nature of that work. They can form an opinion only on general reports, and the reports which they get are often through executive officers who are not themselves unbiassed judges of judicial work. It is admitted, and it is impossible to deny it, that executive officers often think differently from judicial officers on matters that are placed before them for opinion or decision, and that the executive way of looking at matters is different from that of the judicial. The divergency of thought and opinion between the two is clearly emphasised on many occasions, and when the position and prospects of judicial officers depend upon the executive, they must necessarily look to the latter, to their appreciation and good opinion, rather than to the appreciation and good opinion of those who are best fitted to estimate the value of their judicial work.

VI. MISCELLANEOUS.

Murder and murders.

6. The INDIAN PATRIOT, of the 8th September, writes:--"We publish in our 'press of India' the comments of the PIONEER on the Gossain tragedy and the ENGLISHMAN'S and the STATESMAN's rejoinder to the Allahabad paper which could not call the murder of the approver 'cowardly' or 'brutal' or foul. The PIONEER has surprised both the Indian and Anglo-Indian press by this tiny paragraph, and while the STATESMAN and the ENGLISHMAN have been opening their eyes, wide open at its attitude, Indian

papers have shown no less surprise in coming across an outspoken heart. As the PIONEER puts it well, there are murders and murders, Kania Lal and Satindra are surely never cowards, for they well knew at the time that they aimed their revolvers that with the death of the approver they would be put to death too. What we are amused, however, is to see the ENGLISHMAN very sorry that the PIONEER should have lent 'its influential support,' as it calls it, and digging up old histories to find whether Byron has made any right mention of the heroes the PIONEER puts up before the 'young men in the student quarter who are parading with the extract pinned across their chests proclaiming their jubilation.' The STATESMAN goes ~~xx~~ a step further and wonders what would have been the result if an Indian paper had given expression to feelings like that. It would have run a considerable risk, as it says, of being dealt with under the new Newspapers act,--incitement to murder. All that we have to say is that the PIONEER, when it says, that Kania Lal and Satindra Nath were not cowards and the act they did was not 'brutal' of foul, never incited murder."

Expression of loyalty.

7. The INDIAN PATRIOT, of the 9th Septmebr, says:--"We reprint elsewhere a letter addressed by Sir S.Subramania Aiyar to the MADRAS MAIL yesterday as regards the call made on Indians to express their loyalty. We must say that the spirit and manner in which the call has been made has not encouraged Indians to respond to it. They have been, in a way, put on their defence, and called upon to vindicate their loyalty by a declaration. This has been naturally resented, since those who know that they are nothing but loyal feel it an affront be called upon to place their loyalty beyond doubt by a public declaration; and we fear that the result of a controversy on the subject carried on in the columns of Anglo-Indian journals is not conducive to a hearty acceptance of the suggested course.

Most people resent being dictated to in a matter like this. They know their own mind, and they also know the mind of the country at large, better than those who dictate to them; and whenever there was occasion for it they have not hesitated to declare the mind of themselves and of the country at large. In Madras, particularly, there have been ~~txix~~ notable instances of leading members of the Indian community demonstrating their duty and responsibility to the Government. It was, for in Madras, at the time of the Russian scare in the early eighties, that the vernacular journalists met and resolved not to criticise adversely the acts and measures of Government until the scare had disappeared. It was again in Madras that, at the time of the South African war, when successive reverses had happened to British arms, that our leading men met at the Cosomopolitan Club and called a public meeting at the Pachaiyappa's hall to wish success to British arms and to ~~xxargx~~ arrange for the offering of Prayers in temples and mosques. The common feeling among the Indian community at the time was that a serious misfortune had overtaken the British Government and nation, and that it was consequently necessary at that time for our people to show to the world that they stood by their rulers in that dark moment. The prompting did not come from outside. It was a spontaneous movement of the Indian community whose press also at that time thoroughly identified itself with the British, notwithstanding the fact that in England itself there were a number of leading politicians who condemned the war and sympathised with the Boers. Then, again, when the late Queen Victoria of revered memory died, our leaders instantly met at the Cosmopolitan Club and even arranged the details about observing mourning in Indian homes. All these were done in a thoroughly spon~~xx~~taneous and hearty manner, because we felt that the occasion required us to act in the manner we did.

8. The INDIAN PATRIOT, of the 11thSeptember writes:--

SWADESHI in bad odour.

"We have never heard boycott being employed anywhere in the ~~world~~ world as a purely economic expedient, or of any nation having achieved their economic salvation by that means. The man who means to thrive does not begin by making himself hateful to his neighbours, and the nation which acts in that spirit must necessarily isolate itself. What is our position? We are under British Government; and we have to get on in association with British people. Shall we be making our position better or ourselves more happy by assuming a perpetual attitude of hostility to both? Boycott means hostility, while SWADESHI is purely a work of industry and manufacture, intended for the amelioration of our condition; and in that work, as we have endeavoured to show, the sympathy and assistance of Government have been very valuable and will continue to be so for a long time. We would dissociate SWADESHI not only from boycott, but from controversial politics. When we want a cause to thrive with the help of others, and particularly of Government, we must divest it of all provocative elements calculated to alienate their sympathy. When, in international concerns, people adjust their difference by compromise, by mutual surrender of opposing positions, there should be no difficulty in divesting such a purely industrial movement as SWADESHI of what brings it into bad odour not only with Europeans, but with Government itself. SWADESHI ought to be preached to people not so as to provoke in them feelings of hostility toothers, but to impress on them the economic advantages it would bring and to point out to them the directions in which they can work with profit. The idea that the movement is hostile to, or is looked upon with disfavour, by Government, is calculated to cause infinite mischief in many ways; and while it is the duty of the people to avoid causes of misunderstanding, it is also necessary for Government to insist on a right attitude on the part of its subordinates, who deem it their duty to watch SWADESHI workers, and their right to interfere with SWADESHI undertakings."

9. The INDIAN PATRIOT, of the 12th September, remarks:--

The time is coming.

"The time is coming for the English as a race to hand over the control of Indian affairs to the Indians themselves," said the Rev.A.Robertson in the course of an address at Aberdeen on the present unrest in India; and this is not the first time we hear a Missionary speak in that way. As a class they are in heartier sympathy with the people than those who are directly responsible for the administration, for the simple reason that they have more opportunities to come into contact with them and use those opportunities in a good way. We referred to the Bishop of Lahore and his sympathy for Indian aspiration; we referred to Rev.Campbell and the love of the Gooty public for him; and it is a wonder how these Missionaries love and are loved. If the official would just think of it and take a leaf out of their book, mingle a little freedom and familiarity in their talk, a greater love for his fellow-man, never minding the colour of the qualification of his friend, and above all realise, as the Missionary does, that he is there to watch over them, then the difficulties of the administration would become much less; and the good old days when the hand of Providence was seen in the accession of India by England would come back again. It would be very pleasing indeed to see clever, young civilians, capable officers all, loving and loved by the people, ruling over them with all the mercy and kindness of a small Raja, entering freely into their grievances and redressing them as far as possible; and there is no reason why it could not be so.

10. The MADRAS STANDARD, of the 12th September, writes:--

The Forthcoming Congress.

"It is high time that work in connection with the forthcoming Congress were pushed on. Too much importance cannot be attached to the success of the first session of the resuscitated Congress. The question is whether an organisation, that represents the interests of all classes and creeds in this country, is to fall

into a kind of winter sleep or if it is to show renewed, life, voicing forth, as it has hitherto done., the aspirations of the people and giving expression to their well-considered and eminently reasonable views. We trust that our countrymen will realise the importance of a successful session of the Congress this year and shaking off apathy muster strong at Madras in December, next Meanwhile there is a lot of preparatory work to be done. The District Committees haveto be organ ized. We understand that something is being done in this direction. But the "something" is plainly not enough. More workers are needed to go to the various districts and co-operate with the local leading men in forming representative District Committees. Prominent men should not delay in joining the Provincial Congress Committee. The time too is near when we should plunge our hands deep into our pockets and send our rupees, few or many, to help to swell Congress funds. Every well-wisher of the Congress cause should come forward now without delay and help in making the forthcoming Congress sessio a success."

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(b) Cours.

The conviction of Arya.

11. With reference to the conviction of Sri Surendranath Ary the INDIA, of the 22nd August, remarks:--Many mistakes were committed in this case:--

(1) The defence was not properly represented.

(2) Some important defence witnesses were not examined at the proper time.

(3) At the end of the case, the Crown Prosecutor made a curious request for an exemplary sentence being passed upon the accused.

Even with all this, all the people feel that the punishmen inflicted is very severe. The authorities having inflicted such a cruel punishment on this sage-like lad of 22 years, only shows

their anger and not their wisdom. We have also heard Arya's lectures. Though he might have, in the heat of the moment, uttered an impatient word or two, the spirit of his lecture was always within the bounds of law and was only an exhortation to our countrymen to steadfastly help the growth of SWADESHISM. This we can boldly assert. Whatever these authorities may think, God, who is All Supreme, is sure to regard Arya as a pure and noble-minded youth.

(k) General.

The present situation.

14. The DESABHIMANI, of the 2nd September, writes in English as follows:--"The rabid vapourings of a portion of the vernacular press and the reckless utterances of some of the go-ahead and irresponsible men have, it must be admitted, embarrassed the Government and compelled it to embark on measures which, we hope, will soon be abandoned. The Government responsible for law and order is bound to enforce it at any cost, and if in its attempt to maintain it, some mistake unwittingly creeps in, that wil hardly be a reason for questioning the wisdom and good intentions of the Government. The days of sedition are well nigh over and we hope we have seen the last of it. By now the prosecutions must have had a telling effect on some of these erratic journalists and inflated stump orators who manage to easily get an audience. It seems to us that the time has come for the Government to go back to its traditional policy and relax the rigor of these prosecutions ~~whch~~ which in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred may be fully justified.

"Before concluding, we would like to draw the attention of the Government to the evil attendant on these prosecutions. We ~~therefore~~ of course, know that the object of the Government is to put down sedition and that spirit of rebellion which has taken hold of some of the minds of the people in Bengal. So far as this Presidency is concerned, the anarchist element

has certainly found no place. As for sedition, there may be some spark here and there. And considering that most of these men have been severely punished, it is extremely doubtful whether any person would indulge in that pastime, unless he is so very desirous of playing with the fire. The people have known that the Government are bent upon doing everything in their power to deal with these cases severely. That feeling is bound to produce a wholesome effect on those tempted to think and act otherwise. Having achieved this, the Government may very well consider the advisability of not carrying the matter further. Unfortunately for the Government, these prosecutions produce in some quarters a certain amount of impression against it. The man in the street not knowing nor pretending to know the real state of things and the responsibility of the Government in such cases, thinks that the Government is acting unjustly and mercilessly. This opinion which is hastily formed happens to be shared by a number of people, and it is certainly not ~~ex a~~ conducive to a good Government that its subjects or a portion thereof should entertain such an opinion, however erroneous it may be. These prosecutions give a sort of advertisement to these seditious writings and many minds read through it, and occasionally get themselves infected by it.

"We think the best course to adopt will be to give a previous warning to the erring journalist and thereby give him an opportunity of improving his tone as is being done by Sir John Hewett. And if this is done, there will be few occasions for these prosecutions. If, however, a journalist persists in his old ways even after such warning, the Government may then rightly ~~persists in his old an e~~ make an example of him. Then again there is section 108, Procedure Code, which entitled a Magistrate to bind over such speakers and journalists for good behaviour for a period not exceeding one year. If necessary, steps may be taken under this section, as we fancy that this will be far more effective and open to criticism than a State prosecution. Anyway we fervently hope that we will soon cease to hear of sediton."

The INDIA, of the 22nd August, writes:--It seems to be a very useful thing, in one respect, that the authorities, actuated by a vindictive spirit, are inflicting very cruel punishments upon SWADESHI preachers and editors of newspapers. This serves the purpose of a good winnowing fan to separate the chaff from the rice amongus. Taking the three persons in the Madras Presidency on whom have been inflicted most cruel punishments, viz., Chidambram Pillai, Subramania Sivan and Surendranath Arya, these advocated the adoption of only constitutional methods for the growth of SWADESHISM and for the establishment of SWARAJ. They might have, in the heat of the moment and owing to impatience uttered a strong word or two. But is it not unjust for a Judge to convict a man, taking these words by themselves and apart from the preceding or succeeding sentences? Should he not consider the chief aim of the preachers and the true nature of their preachings? It may be that the authorities are trying to suppress a constitutional effort of our people by very cruel ways. But why should this make our people tremble with fear ? It may be, possible for the authorities to tease some editors and preachers by bringing false charges against them. On what pretext can they tease people who vow to use only SWADESHI goods? On what pretext can they seize those who establish and conduct SWADESHI schools and factories? So the people have no reason to fear unnecessarily. If they practise SWADESHI, as of old, quietly and without transgressing the bounds of law, the country will become very prosperous and the authorities too will realise that their anger is unavailing and keep quiet. On this subject, a correspondent writes to us: "Do you see how many of the so-called SWADESHISTS have hid themselves the moment the authorities took the cudgels against them? Is this the country that is to progress? How many cowards! Is it these people that you have been extolling week after week as ARYA PUTRAS? Is there any other harder task than to try to reform these people? We do not think our people are so bad as this. We have faith in the race of Bharata. They may be shaken a little, because suffering for politics is a novel thing in this country. But they will not be depressed by these trifling worries. Will the members of a race, who have survived many a calamity within the last 4,000 years

15. The INDIA, of the 5th September reproduces an article from the AMRITA BAZAAR PATRIKA as follows:--Mr.Frederick Harrison

Treatment of political offenders.

a Member of Parliament, says that a political offender should not be treated as an ordinary offender for various reasons. The former commits an offence solely for the benefit of the world, without caring for self-interest, and is respected and even worshipped by the people, while the latter is not only shunned by the public but also feels ashamed to face the public. On this ground, he says that subjecting political offenders to as much hardship as the meanest criminal is nothing but vain jealousy or blundering stupidity. Besides, there is also a difference between the definition of sedition in England and that in India. In England not only a criminal intent, but also seditious speeches or writings are necessary to constitute xxx the offence of sedition, while in India mere use of certain objectional words is enough, whether the offender intends or not to do any cruel deed. Not only this; physical force is also necessary in England for this offence. Lord Macauley who drafted the Indian Penal Code said that the existence of both interest intent and force must be clearly proved. But Mr.Chalmers who was the legal Member of the Viceroy's Council in the time of Lord Elgin removed these two loopholes of escape-- intent and incitement to use force--and added a new explanation that one was guilty of sedition if one evinced the least dislike or hatred towards the Government. Even without this explanation the section is construed only like this by Judges and Magistrates in India. Why were Chidambaram, Subramania Siva and Mr.Tilak sentenced to transportation for life, for ten years and for six years, respectively? Did they use any words inciting people to do cruel deeds or did they think of using force? Perhaps their words were such as to cause dislike or hatred in the minds of others; but even here nothing was to cause dislike or said againsthe Government and such horrible punishments were inflicted for using certain words which neither caused a riot nor intended to cause such.

Then, again, coming to the punishment under the section, in England it is only two years' imprisonment, while here it is transportation ~~x~~for life or three years' rigorous imprisonment. Why should there be ~~xxxxxxxx~~ the difference? Besides this, a persons convicted of sedition in England is treated only as a first-class misdemeanant, so that he has to live within the jail even as he does at home. But in India he has to work like thieves and murderers. Can any Englishman account for this difference again? To years' simple imprisonment is a sufficient punishment for even the worst seditionist. Transporting them or making them work while in prison will only increase, instead of removing, the disaffection among the people.

III. LEGISLATION.

To amend the law regarding treatment of Political offenders.

17. A leader in the MANORAMAS of the 4th September, observes that loyalty existed in India and in particular among the Hindus, in a more appreciable degree than elsewhere. It is believed by them as religious doctrine that a Sovereign is the embodiment of Vishnu himself the invisible protective power in the Hindu trinity, and disoloyalty is censured as the most heinous sin. It deplores that symptoms of disloyalty ~~xxxxxxxxxxx~~ noticed at present in certain quarters which will be found on observation not without ground, and suggests that it behoves the Government which had no occasion till now to pay serious attention to the treatment accorded to political prisoners who were few before but are increasing rapidly under the present regime, to legislate on the matter as it is not desirable to rank them with ordinary criminals. The article says that in civilised countries of Europe and America, political offenders are not treated on an equality with common felons and that the Government on a due and deliberate consideration of the matter will be convinced of the injustice of the existing law. The special attention of the Government is, therefore, earnestly called to the necessity of amending the law according to the exigencies of the times.

VI. MISCELLANEOUS.

18. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 8th September, writes:--For a long time the Indians were against going to foreign countries, and it is only the British civilisation and example that have changed their opinion and induced them to go to foreign countries. But now the foreigners precent the Indians setting their foot in their country, and it is not countries like Gemmany or France, but the British Colonies themselves, that do this. Mr.Buchanan says that the British colonies have got the right to prevent any foreigner from entering their country. True, but the Indians claim a right to settle in the Colonies, not with referance to any favour of sympathy on the part of the Colonists, but as being the subjects of the same Sovereign. If this rightis denied, the Colonists also must, as Mr.Āgha Khan of Bombay and other have said, be prevented from entering India. Perhaps Lord Morley and Lord Minto have never considered this. An attempt is ~~his~~ being made to open a coal trade between India and Johannesburg. Have the Indians the right to refuse to be p parties to such a trade? It is pitiable indeed that the Colonists should spoil good intentions of the British!

The Indians and the Colonies.

19. The INDIA, of the 22nd August, observess--Though absolute monarchy was the nature of the Government in all Western countries till recently, now, it is representative Government or "Government by the people" that obtains in every country in the West. But the European statesmen believed for a long time and some of them still believe that such a form of Government will not suit the Eastern countries. All must admit that the Western had a training in ~~conducting~~ conducting a Government earlier than the Easters. But yet, it is a great folly for the former to think that they alone in the world were gifted with the capacity of having a representative Government, and this has been proved

The Easterns and representative Government.

by novel events within the recent few years. The opinion of the Europeans is a s ludicrous as it will be if a four-year old child were to say to to a two-year old one: "It is only I that have been given the wonderful of walking and running: you are ever to be crawling." We have already written about the awakening in Turkey. Her present king is a wise man who realises that a change of time must also bring about a change of events. Feeling that none can oppose the popular wil , he came over to the side of the people just at the proper time. If he had not done thus, there would have been a revolution in Turkey and much of blood-shed. As the king was a wise ruler, he avoided all this. Even this king tried his best to sustain an absolute Government. But all his efforts to ruin the party of freedom were of no avail and this party ultimately won the day by their perseverance and unanimity. Thus the European statesmen should indeed be ashamed to see thatthe notion, that the Easterns are not capable of having a representative Government, has been ~~xxx~~ falsified not only in the case of Persia and Japan but also in that of Turkey.

On the same subject, the INDIA, of the 5th September, says:- The Government obtaining in the French Possessions in India is almost a SWARAJ But there are many defects in the way in which the people exercise the rights granted to them. They are unnecessarily causing riots and the popular leaders do not make any effort to enable the people to have the full benefit of a representative Government. The chief causes of this state of affairs are two. Firstly, when the whole of India is subject to a foreign sway without the popular party having any rights, it is not possible for the few Indians in the French territory to avail themselves fully of the rights they have. Though there is a difference in the form of Government, in all other respects, it is indispensable that the Indians in the French territory should resemble those in the British territory. Secondly, the rights ~~xxxxxd~~ enjoyed by them are after all a ~~fix~~ gift from the French Government and naturally there is always a difference between the way in which a man enjoys wealth earned by his own hard labour and

that in which he enjoys what came to him as a figt from another. Thus , owing to theses reasons there are many defects in the way in which the Indians in French India enjoy their privileges. But this has not made the French Government take away the rights granted, on the plea that its subjects are not capable of exercising them. By thus allowing the subjects to have SWARAJ, even with many difficulties, the French Government does not seem to be in any way worse off than the Government in British India. The taxation is lower there than here and there is no army expenditure at all. The popular leaders there are not the widows without any influence that they are in British India. Every man in French India feels his individuality and whatever may be the number of parties among the people, all of them have a love and regard for that Government, for every oneis glad that the Government is conducted according to the will of the people. When the Indians are thus enjoying a form of SWARAJ under the French, how can they be unfit for it under the British? Is it not a very weak argument to say that a certain thing which does good to a portion of the body will do harm to the whole of it?

A loyal dinner at Madras.

20 .With reference to the suggestion of a correspondent of the MADRAS MAIL to hold a loyal dinner at Madras, the SWADESAMITRAN, ofthe 9th September, writes:--It is suggested that there should not only be a loyal dinner but that the after-dinner speeches must be in a certain prescribed form. It is quite necessary that the Indians should now make an expression of their loyalty because the Government is under the wrong impression that some ~~Indian~~ harm has occurred to the loyalty of the Indians and this impression may even get stronger if the Indians do not take this step. But we do not think that a dinner is necessary for expressing the loyalty of the people. It looks stranger still in our eyes that the after-dinner speeches should be in a prescribed form. Loyalty is not a thing to be bought in the bazaar or made to order.

It is a spontaneous outflow of feeling from one's heart. But, as we said above, it is quite essential at this juncture to make an expression of loyalty and so it is veyy necessary that the Indian public should hold public meetings in every place and affirm the loyalty to the Crown. This is the view expressed by Sir S.Subramania Aiyar also.

21. The INDIA, of the 5th September, reproduces an article from the VANDE MATARAM as follows:-

Life above logic. What do we lose by ceasing to write and speak? What if we are not able to express our ideas openly? We are past the time when newspapers and lectures were quite necessary for our effort. The MANTRA instilling ~~papers and~~ a devotion to the country has become deeply impressed on the heart of every one by means of silent work and the sufferings undergone by the devotees of our country. There may be silence everywhere and no fuss may be made owing to the terror of the detectives. But which detective can see the new feelings created in and passed from mind to mind? The extennal manifestations of our feelings in our mind.. We shall feel for our country as long as we have a feeling, shall think about it as long as we have in mind, and shall work hard for its Welfare as long as we have good qualities. Though slavishness has strengthened our regard for self-interest to the detriment of the interest of the community we have not compeltely abandoned our solicitude for the good of the public. We see that great attempts are being made on every side to check the growth of our SWADESHI efforts. SWADESHI editors and preachers are being hunted everywhere. Our own countrymen are instigated to avoid their company and turn a deaf ear to their advice. But all these troubles can only cause an obstruction to the open work of our patriots and it can do no other serious harm. They are now entering on a nobler and more useful path. Is it not better to show by example than to reason out and preach to the people? It is only this way that our patriots are now adopting.

The Indians in the Transvaal

22. With reference to the recent imprisonment of many Indians in the Transvaal a correspondent of the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 10th September, writes:--Every day some persons are being arrested and sent to jail for having sold articles without a license. The Indians who used to be afraid of a jail very much have now begun to dare it. The reason is that they now think that life in a prison is better than losing self-respect and being subjected ~~to that life in a prison is better than losing self-respect and being subject to a~~ an unjust treatment. See the heroism of these people! It is only these that are true ARYAPUTRAS. Is it not to advance the welfare of their countrymen and to show to the world how much of respect and justice they have under the British rule, that these suffer so much of hardship? The heroism of these is more laudable than that of warriors!

The causes of the present unrest in India.

23. A paragraph in the BHARATA BHANDU, of the 29th August, translates a portion of the speech of Mr.Radha Charn Pal "on the present conditons" as follows:--"It has become a fashion now-a-days to attribute to the Indians the sole responsibility for the present unrest. But an impartial enquiry will clearly show that the chief reasons of the discontent are the waywardness of some impulsive officials labouring under some mistaken notions, the insolent disregard which the Government manifest towards public opinion and the treatment of Indians as slaves by some Europeans intoxicated with racial pride. The rulers must have real sympathy to make their Government beneficial. His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, our future Emperor, has said that Indians ought to be ruled with more sympathy. But this sympathy must show itself in deeds and not only in words in order to dispel the race prejudice. Discontent will remain here as long as Englishmen persist in the haughty idea that they are superior to the Indians.

For the week ending 19th September 1908.

No. 38 of 1908.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY NATIVES.

I. FOREIGN POLITICS.

2. The INDIAN PATRIOT, of the 17th September, writes:--

The Transvaal sensation.

"Reuter writing from South Africa has two important announcements to make: one is that the ex-soldiers have protested against the Asiatic Registration Act and have desired to be shot dead in one of the fields where they fought for the Imperial Government rather than be forced to submit to it; the other is that the gallant Parsi who experimented the other day whether the Transvaal was still open to educated Indians has re-entered the country and been sentenced to a fine of £50 or three months' rigorous imprisonment and Mr.Sorabjee has gladly gone into goal. Both the soldiers and Mr.Sorabjee have set an example at a time when such examples are very necessary. Severe sentences are being passed , and the Transvaal Government is trying to cow down the people. A panic has seized the people, and they have appealed to their mother country to rise and add her voice to their own; and every day a patriotic leader is caught by the heels and precipitated to gaol. The common people might get frightened at the hurricane that is blowing around them; but, when amidst the storm they see Sorabjee walking to gaol with a smiling face, or hear the soldiers' voice that they would rather be shot down in the field of battle where they had fought for the Transvaal rather than submit to an obnoxious law, they would pick up heart again and brave the storm. And as the Transvaal Government takes more and more drastic steps the Indians will grow more and more accustomed to the warfare, till the sufferings that it entails will have a fascination for those who are engaged in it. People will grow with the cause they espouse, and while the whole world will applaud them for their pluck and courage the Transvaal Government will be heaving hard, and will cease to command sympathy in the difficulties which they

themselves have brought upon them. But in the meanwhile the question will be asked with increasing interest and anxiety what the Imperial Government will do in the matter. That the Transvaal has failed in doing its duty to the Imperial Government is plain to all, and there is a peculiar force in the ~~ppeal~~ appeal of the ex-soldiers who have fought and bled for the Imperial Government, which is not in the appeals of the Indians living in that country, although the mere fact that they are British subjects is enough to move a Government who really care for them. Sir P.M. Mehta has wired to the Prime Minister about the intense feeling that is prevailing in India over the Transvaal question; the ex-soldiers have sent up their manly protest; and the Transvaal Indians have been keeping up the fire. It is for the Imperial Government to make a move, and in view of the sensation that prevails to make that move promptly."

The MADRAS STANDARD, of the 18th September, remarks:--". . . The Indians have not objected to educational and other tests, but only to their race and colour being branded as such. The Transvaal Government has, in the opinion of Indians, committed a breach of faith. The Indians are indignant and have publicly burnt their voluntary certificates. They have courted imprisonment. To such a pitch has feeling risen among them that the ex-soldiers ask to be shot on the South African battlefields where they have served. Such a request can arise when feeling sinks into despair. Our fellow countrymen in the Transvaal have asked us in India to try and do something for them. Public meetings should be held throughout the country protesting against the treatment of our compatriots in the Transvaal. Political associations ought to move in the matter without delay and make representations to the Secretary of State for India and the Imperial Government. The Bombay Presidency Association has already taken the initiative in the matter. In a telegram which we published that veteran Congressman, Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, in his capacity as President of the Association, has addressed Lord Morley and Mr.Asquith placing before them the view taken all over India of the treatment of Indians in the Transvaal. Sir Pherozeshah

Mehta gave expression to the bare truth when he informed the Secretary of State for India and the Prime Minister that public feeling in India is once more keenly hurt, excited and indignant at the unjust treatment to which Indians of education, position and respectability, who are undoubtedly entitled to the protection of the British Crown, are subjected in the Transvaal. We may add that the public feeling Sir Pherozeshah Mehta speaks of is not that of a section or of a few sections of the people of the country, however influential and important, but the unanimous voice of the ~~xxxxx~~ people without distinction of race, caste and creed. Muhammadans feel with the Hindus and Parsees and Christians join with them in this matter. The aristocratic and the democratic elements mingle together in ~~xxxx~~ raising an emphatic protest. It was His Highness the Aga Khan, a representative of Muhammadan aristocracy, who presided at a meeting held in Bombay the other day to protest against the treatment that the Indians were being subjected to in the Transvaal . . . . The action of the Transvaal authorities has produced a most pernicious effect on the mind of the people of India. Will the Imperial Government take this into consideration, or will they say once more that they cannot interfere? Meanwhile, our duty is plain. We should focus public opinion, call public meetings throughout the country and send our protests to the Imperial Government."

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(b) Courts.

The Karur sedition case.

3. The HINDU, of the 15th September, observes:--"The Karur sedition case was disposed of by Mr.R.D.Broadfoot, Sessions Judge of Coimbatore, yesterday, by convicting the accused and awarding him five years' transportation. Mr.Broadfoot probably thinks that he has shown leniency in so far as he has not sentenced the accused to transportation for life, and some people may consider it 'misplaced leniency.' The vast majority of the

Indian public will think, however, we venture to say, that the learned Judge has not shown common-sense in dealing with the accused, who, assuming all that the prosecution evidence wanted to establish against him was true, and ignoring all that the considerable body of defence evidence maintained on his behalf, was entitled to reasonably fair, if not indulgent, consideration as regards punishment by reason of his youth, his written apology to the Government tendered at the commencement of the case in the Sessions Court, and the recommendation to mercy expressly made to the Judge by the assessors who heard the case. We cannot go into the merits of the case to-day, and it would be well to defer our comments until the full text of the judgment is before the public. The proceedings in the case have been published from time to time, and those who have been reading the evidence in the case and the speeches on behalf of the prosecution and of the defence will, we think, be reminded of an observation which Lord Morley made on a trial for sedition in Ireland, viz. 'when you hear such evidence as that, do you not think you are listening to the proceedings of a Court in a comic opera?"

The INDIAN PATRIOT, of the 15th September, writes:--". . The conviction is probably correct; but the case does not help one to know the nature of evidence which may suffice to effectively contradict Police reports. We have never been able to believe in the accuracy of Police reports of speeches, not because we think that the Police would always misreport them, but because we know that it is impossible for Policemen, unless they are experts in shorthand, to accurately take down a speech; and where a speech is made in Tamil, and reported in English, much less can we believe in the accuracy of the report. Possibly the lad Krishnaswami Sarma expressed all the ideas and sentiments attributed to him. But if the Policemen accurately reproduced all that he said, they have indeed attained a proficiency in reporting, which must make them easily conspicuous among our best reporters.

"As regards the sentence, the only observation that we can make, after the precedent established by Mr-Justice Miller, is that it is not quite obvious to us the principle upon which it proceeds. There is, indeed, the fact that the offance is punishable with transportation for life, and therefore anything less than that may in one sense be regarded as moderate. But, then, there are provided other penalties which may either be imprisonment for a maximum period of three years of a mere fine. And our difficulty is to determine what is a reasonable punishment in a given case between the two extremes of transportation for life on the one hand and a simple fine on the other. We were under the impression that transporatation was intended by ~~other.--We-were~~ the Legislature forthose cases in which the presence of the accused in the country would notbe desirable either for a definite period of for life, and that in all other cases a fine was the lowest and imprisonment for three years the highest penalty. But in the case of the Karur lad, it is difficult to see any circumstance warranting any severe penalty much less transportation. His remaining in the country will not surely cause a commotion anywhere; nor is he likely after his conviction, to be seized again with the ambition of becoming a platform orator. We confess that we fail to appreciate the judicial sense which determined the punishment of five years' transportation for a boy who had attempted, by words spoken, to excite feelings of disaffection in the minds of a couple of hundreds of people. If that is a proper penalty in this case, we can easily conceive of cases in which transportation for life would never be an adequate retribution and we are bound to say that the public sense is shocked by such disproportionate sentences which merely aim at severity without establishing any intelligble standard of relation between crime and punishment."

(k) General.

4. The HINDU, of the 14th September writes:--"The Industrial Conference convened by the Madras Government for considering the questions connected with the furtherance of the industrial development of this Presidency and the improvement and extension of ~~kan~~ technical education met at Ootacamund to-day. His Excellency the Governor in opening the Conference, delivered an address the full text of which we publish elsewhere, drawing attention to the main objects for which the Conference has been summoned the programme of work that is to be placed before them and dwelling at the same time incidentally with the various problems that would arise out of the discussions and ~~xl~~ deliberat tions of the Conference. It is hardly possible in the time at our disposal to refer to the various ~~spirits~~ points so ably and clearly dealt with by His Excellency in his eloquent speech, more especially as they deal with the various items in the programme of work before the Conference which have been placed before the Members of the Conference, but which have not been placed at the disposal of the public.

The Madras Industrial Conference.

"Of the dawning and growth of SWADESHI among us, little doubt exists in the minds of the people or the Government, though the manner in which and the extent to which the latter will come forward to push it, has been a somewhat varying factor. We are glad, however, to accept the assurance of His Excellency that the summoning of this Conference is a recognition on the Government's part of its obligations in this respect and a desire that these should be fulfilled.

"Trade has, no doubt, increased, but that has only facilitated exchange of commodities and payment of Home Charges and the value of the aggregate increase of production is the only test by which our poverty or prosperity has to be measured. As to prices, it is now admitted that the rise is general and no general rise in prices in such a short period could occur except by an increase in the volume of the currency. This ~~x~~ seems to us to be one of the reasons why the weaker party in exchanges, the

wage-earners, have not been able to raise the price of their labour, which if the rise had been gradual as before 1893 would have enabled them to participate in the general rise of princes. However, our connection only strengthens the plea which His Excellency has so eloquently put forward for the 'Betterment of India', to improve the economic condition of the people, their material well-being and prosperity, and effective steps being taken in this direction.2

The following appears in the editorial notes column of the WEDNESDAY REVIEW, of the 16th September,:--"The admirable and exhaustive address, which Sir Arthur Lawley delivered in opening the Industrial Conference at Ootacamund, must disabuse the notion prevailing in certain quarters that the Government are at heart anti-SWADESHISTS. Unless it is seriously xx contended that Governors and other high officials in the country habitually employ language to conceal thought, there is nothing to show that the SWADESHI spirit is looked upon by them with suspicion and they would not be sorry to suppressx it. Far from that being the case, we have no hesitation in saying that the Government have proved themselves more alive to their obligations in the matter than the pseudo patriots who orate by the hour on the glorious possibilities of SWADESHISM, without parting with a single penny for the cause. There is little use in all their full-throated orations, if they will not bottle up their eloquence for a while fx and point the way. The silent worker who sets up a handloom and sweats at it, is a nobler asset and a more valuable help to the industrial development of the country than the stump orator who dxixex draws alluring pictures of Japan and America, and thinks that his work is done when his audience bursts into applause. Talk may be an essential aid for our political salvation, but work, steady and self-sacrificing work is the first requisite for our industrial regeneration. When that is not forthcoming, there will not be any justification for us to blame others, if we xx are condemned to the bottom - most rung in the ladder of national prosperity. If we are serious about it the present is the most opportune time to

raise ourselves when the SWADESHI spirit can be said to be really abroad, and as His Excellency said, it is the dawning of a great idea. Fortunately for us the Government are exhibiting true practical solicitude in the matter and if we care do, it lies with us to turn the opportunity to our best advantage. If we wake up betimes and catch the helping hand which the Government have sketched towards us, it will be possible, in the words of Sir Arthur Lawley, 'for the Government and the people to advance hand in hand towards the attainment of that ideal which, as I already said, we have all at heart, and that is the betterment of India."

5. The MADRAS STANDARD, of the 17th September, writes:--

Industrial condition and prospects in India.

"As we remarked in our article on the Industrial Conference that is now being held at Ootacamund, the birth of the SWADESHI spirit and the increased interest the Government is showing as regards indigenous industries mark a distinct stage in the history of industrial development in the country. An essential preliminary to the successful development of industries is an exact knowledge of their present condition. This is being ascertained by specially deputed officers in Bengal, Madras and elsewhere. But while by means of these special enquiries the condition and prospects of various special industries in the country are being ascertained, a broad view of their general condition can be obtained from the statistics relating to them periodically published by the Government of India. For the sake of convenience, the satistics have now been issued in nine separate parts, the first of which relating to factories, mills and mines contains a mass of information of very great interest. A study of these statistics banishes any lingering pessimism that our minds may harbour as regards the industrial prospects of the country. Though undoubtedly the country has made but the veriest beginnings in the passage from the purely agricultural to the industrial condition, yet, the progress made so far is encouraging and no despair need be entertained as regards the futur

6. In a leader on the expression of opinion on this subject fowarded to the Government of Bengal by the Anglo-Indian Association of Calcutta, the HINDU, of the 17th September, remarks:-

The separation of functions

". . . . . After quietly ignoring the potent proofs which have been collected and published from time to time of the evils of the existing system, the Anglo-Indian Association urges a most curious argument against the scheme, viz., that the separation of functions will tend to a weakening of the efficiency of the Civil Service, from which both the Executive and Judicial branches are recruited as it leads to a too early choice of either branch by the members thereof and varied experience is thus lost. The argument in effect amounts to this. In order to afford the members of the Civil Service every prospect in the services of promotion and emolument, the people must be made to suffer a combination of functions. In order that they should have varied experience and make a later choice the people should submit to have the Police and Magisterial powers combined in one person. It may, of course, be quite satisfactory to the Services but the real question is, do the Services exist for the people or the people for the Services? In any case, there is no reason why the recruitment for the Judicial and Executive services should not be so changed so as to allow of both functions being efficiently performed and why we should assume that the present system of Civil Service recruitment should remain immutable, if, as the Anglo-Indian Association says, it would lead to less efficiency when the functions are separated. The most amazing thing, however, that an 'Anglo-Indian', in writing to the STATESMAN to support his Association's absurd pleas, says is that the real question is whether 'this great country, placed by Providence under the care of the British nation, shall be governed by Indian or British moral ideals.' It is worthy of note that in dealing with reforms in the system of Government and administration at the present day, Indian ideals, real or fancied of by-gone ages, have

a strange fascination in preferance to British ideals to certain ~~xmixgx~~ Anglo-Indian minds. 'The true magnitutde of the calamity', he says, ' will, perhaps, be realised when Indian Judges are found upsetting, on technical grounds, all convictions for political crimes given by British Magistrates.' This ~~xxxx~~ unworthy insinuation only reflects the spirit of the Anglo-Indian writer who is afraid to see that justiee is done between man and man, apart from politics, and that the ruling race or the State's officess should claim no exemption from conforming strictly to the law of the land. The Anglo-Indian has enough special protection already under the law, and if the present system has enabled him to be a law unto himself and the Magistrates to have their own way in dealing with crime irrespective of law, then there is perhaps the strongest argument made out for the separation of Executive and Judicial functions, and we have no doubt that the Government, will not be deterred by the cry of, 'do not yield to interested agitation,' which is persistently raised against a reform so obvious and necessary as the one on which it has already embarked."

IV. NATIVE STATES.

The Mysore Press Law.

7. "The MYSORE press Law has received the blessings of the Anglo-Indian press and now of the London STANDARD, a paper which, if we remember correct, paid some attention not long ago to certain of the opinions of the present Diwan of Mysore. We do not know if the London STANDARD is aware that the Mysore law has practically destroyed in indigenous press in Mysore and ~~they-could-make-themselv~~ deprived the people of the State perhaps of the only medium through which they could make themselves heard. (The MADRAS STANDARD, of the 13th September).

VI. MISCELLANEOUS.

10. The MADRAS STANDARD, of the 19th September, contains the following:--What is important is that the Sabha has now taken decisive action in the matter; so that we shall have a number of occasions within the coming months during which the correct position of the Indian people and the extent of their loyalty will be fully explained and their abhorrence of anarchical crimes and sedition most emphatically expressed. It will be remembered that the Mahajana Sabha of Madras was one of the first to condemn the bomb conspiracy in Bengal. But it does not appear that even the local Anglo-Indian papers took note of the fact. The forthcoming celebrations and the Congress that is to reassemble in Madras in December next will show to the world what Madras is and how deeply loyal its people are."

The Mahajana Sabha and the King-Emperor's birthday.

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(a) Police.

11. The NYAYABHIMANI, of the 10th September observes:--Of late we have been hearing much of the activity of the Police in arresting innocent bigwigs, searching many houses and manufacturing witnesses against the popular leaders. What better benefit can ~~the Police in~~ be expected of the Indian Police than this? All those vain persons who used to applaud the British Government are now being trodden down and everywhere in the country it is the cry of murders, thefts and cruelties.

The vagaries of the Police in India.

If whitemen and others are sentenced to transportation, it would not affect their family in any way, for their wives can seek other men to protect them. But if an Indian is convicted it is a punishment inflicted upon his whole family. It is a wonder the British Government has not taken this into consideration in enacting laws for India.

(b) Courts.

12. With reference to the sentence of five years' transportation passed on Sri Krishnaswami Sarma, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 16th September, remarks:--None could have expected such a sentence in this case. Even granting that Sri Krishnaswami Sarma did create a seditious feeling and delivered such lectures as would make that feeling take effect, this must be attributed only to ignorance and not to a sincere motive of creating a seditious feeling in the minds of the public by reviling the Government. The lad is not more than 18 or 19 years old, and we do not think that he could have expected the public to regard him as a leader and act upon his words. His idea must, naturally, have been to preach as so many other SWADESHI preachers do, and this is the view the public take of the matter. But the Police who took notes of his speeches and the Judge who tried him thought otherwise, as the uppermost idea in their mind was that the lad was guilty of sedition. It was again because of this idea that the evidence adduced by the defence was not taken and a greater weight was attached to the superficial notes of the Police. Besides, our opinion is that the Judge ought not to have sentenced the accused to transportation in this case, and our reasons for this conclusion are as follow: The accused was only 18 or 19 years old--an age at which Indian youngsters usually jump about without any sense of responsibility and so the motive of Krishna Sarma in lecturing at Karur could only have been to try if he could lecture at all. This point was not at all considered by the Judge who tried the case. Secondly, the lad apologised to the Government the moment the case was launched against him. Even this was not taken notice of. Thirdly, even the recommendation of the assessors for mercy being shown to the accused was not taken into consideration. If these things had been noted, he need not have been sentenced to transportation. Though the section empowers the infliction of this punishment, we cannot make out why it was inflicted in the case of this lad. Apparently, no harm could have resulted, if he

The conviction of Sri Krishnaswami Sarma.

had been sentenced to simple imprisonment for some time and kept in India. It is only because mistakes occur in inflicting adequate punishments for offences like this, that the good name of the Government is marred at times. It has to be said that in cases like this, courts of justice, at times, inflict vindictive punishments.

(k) General.

16. The YADARTAVACHANI, of the 12th September, writes:--

What should we do now?

The whites have been insulting our punishments upon them, killing them and torturing them in several ways so that the latter have not only lost all affection for the former, but have also begun to fear them. So we Hindus have nothing to gain from their love hereafter and we have to protect ourselves. SWADESHI articles must be made everywhere. Our native languages must be improved and punchayats must be established in every village. Let them rule the country as they like. Let them bring over a still greater number of their countrymen into this county and employ them in different posts. The various restrictions imposed by village punchayats are better to us than waiting at the doors of courts and paying fines for having quarrelled. In the time of the ancient kings, drunkenness and brawls were not so common as they are under the present British rule. These British originally worked upon the ignorance of the Hindus and got them over to their side and then began to obstruct their progress and union by enacting laws as they like with an evil motive. They have flooded India with a number of their useless articles at exorbitant prices and thus made a good deal of profit from this, thereby converting England into a very rich city while India has become a beggarly country. If any Hindu, objects to this, he is at once deported! From the time, these set their foot in our country, the income of many temples has been plundered and many zamindars and jaghirdars have been reduced to a beggarly

condition. So it is foolish on our part to make them our ~~xxx~~ enemies. If we are unanimous, there is a God above to protect us. We have said all this only to show what is actually obtaining in practice and not in a spiteful spirit against the Government.

Are we in a fit condition to rule ourselves?

18. The NYAYABHIMANI, of the 31st August, writes:--The chief objection raised by the Englishmen to grant some administrative rights to the Indians is that the latter are not capable of exercising them. They argue this from the want of union and mutual jealousy among the Indians. If the eldest child in a family has got many evil traits in its character, its parents will not be pointing out its faults ever and anon and thus perpetuate its defects, but will try to eradicate those bad qualities by instilling better ideas into the mind of the child and thus enable it to take over the management of the family. When they find it impossible to change the character of this child, they will teach union fraternal affection and good behaviour to the other children and leave the management of the family in the hands of the eldest child itself. But the Englishmen are only keeping the Indians in subjection and ever pointing out that the latter are not capable of managing their own affairs, and they have taken no trouble to instil better qualities and a capacity to govern in them. Evidently they do not like the idea of the Indians attaining the capability of governing themselves. So the latter must try to remove the defects pointed out by them. Once this is done and every Indian takes to SWADESHI and boycott of foreign goods, even the Englishmen will soon have to admit that the Indians are in a position to govern themselves.

19. With reference to the murder of Gossain, the approver in the Calcutta bomb case, the NYAYABHIMANI, of the 10th September remarks:--We cannot believe the story that the revolvers, with which Gossain was shot, introduced from outside, through the female visitors to the jail; because every visitor is thoroughly examined before he is allowed to enter the jail. Moreover, our ladies are not so bold as to take a revolver with them. So those who supplied Kanai Lal Dutt with a revolver and instigated him to shoot Gossain must have been the officers of the jail itself. When an invalid was able to shoot a man with a small revolver, would a strong ~~hand~~ man like Hatindranath Bose ~~hav~~ have been caught with a horse pistol in his hand unable to shoot with it? There is evidently some treachery in all this. Whatever may be the cause of the murder of Gossain, the Government will not feel sorry fot it. These regarded Gossain only as an instrument through whom they could unravel the bomb conspiracy and even if he had not been shot like this, it was almost certain that he would be killed in some way or other after his evidence was over. So it is only his people that now bemoan his loss and not the Government. The latter would be glad if some one else would take his place; but it is doubtful if any one would hereafter come forward for this purpose.

The murder of Gossain.

22. The MUKHBIR-I-DAKHAN, of the 16th September, writes a lengthy article under the heading of "The meetiggs of the loyalists" of which the following is the gist;--The Bengali Hindus at first tried to win over the Muhammadans to their side in order to make a public agitation against the partition of Bengal, but they never succeeded in their attempts. They then showed signs of disloyalty and disaffection by means of inflammatory speeches, seditious writings and bombs. The Hindu agitators were afterwards divided into two sections, the Moderates and the Extremists, and the leaders of the latter section were Babu Bepin Chandra Pal

The meetings of the loyalists

and the Assistant Editor of the AMRITA BAZAAR PATRIKA. The movements of the agitators had a pernicious effect on the people of India. The young, inconsiderate and inexperienced students also tooik part in the political movements. In short the Hindus did their best to x stir up a commotion in India, which was afterwards put down by the powerful hands of the British Government. The Muhammadans from the very beginning of the unrest in India expressed great indignation at the movements of their Hindu brethren. The Mussalmans, onx the other hand, are ever ready to sacrifice their lives for the British Crown. Similarly there are crores of people in India who are always ready to co-operate with the British in any undertaking. The Hindus of Madras also held loyal social gatherings in which speeches were made touching upon the benefits and blessings conferred upon the Indians by the British Raj. It is proper on the part of the Mussalmans to take a lesson from certain thoughtless and inconsiderate Muhammadans who had been misguided by the Hindus and had joined them. Muhammadans should in no case swerve from theiir loyalty to the British throne.

VI. MISCELLANEOUS.

"We should not blame the Government."

23. The JANANUKULAN, of the 12th September, writes:--Many of our countrymen are blaming the Government as being the cause of all our grievances. This is not charitable. Our rulers being foreigners, they will not work without caring for self-interest. Will the Englishmen, who came all the way from England and conquered this country, now deliver all their powers and riches xxx into our hands and keep quiet? Are they not men? Are we also justified in expecting them to relinquish all their rights in our favour? They too must enjoy these rights and at the same time protect us. Both of us being the subjects of the same Sovereign, we must not have any wrangling over our respective rights.

25. The SATYAVARTAMANI, of the 15th September, writes in English as follows:--"We are interested in the effort which a certain Indian gentleman is now putting forth in Madura to secure an expression of loyalty to Government on the part of the leading citizens of the town. He feels, as many others feel, that the time now demands from those who are friendly to the State an organised and united expression of their loyalty and sympathy. The enemies of the Government are not only loud in the expression of their enmity; they also are organised, and do all they can to sow disloyalty and sedition among the people, It seems natural that these who are genuinely appreciative of the good work, of British rule in India should say so publicly and should in some way or other try to allay the mind of the ignorant which is disquieted by seditious and disloyal rumours and stories.

An expression of loyalty to the Government.

"But this gentleman has found scant sympathy or following among the ELITE of Madura. He has found not even a "baker's dozen" among the many men of intelligence and influence to take up this cause. They claim that it is enough that they BE loyal, without saying so or acting so in public.

"We differ with them strongly in this matter, and think that if they are really in sympathy with the Government, they are now losing the best opportunity of their life to show their loyalty and to spread this noble sentiment among the people. If they were genuinely disloyal, they could find few ways more effective than their present ominous silence to reveal that sentiment.

"We shall be very glad indeed to see our Madura friends take a definite and a public stand in behalf of a Government which has done more for them than any other Government could have done.

On the same subject, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 16th September observes:--Various suggestions are being made to make a display of our loyalty to the Government. Among these the only proposal that meets with our approval is that of Sri S.Subramania Aiyar, Diwan Bahadur Krishnaswami Rao and the Editor of the HINDU that all the people should enjoy the 1st November next,

the fiftieth anniversary of the Queen's Proclamation of 1858, as a festive day.' The Queen's Proclamation of 1858 is the foundation for the position of the Indians in the British Empire, their privileges and their right to aspire for managing the affairs of their country like all other nations in the world. So we hope that the suggestion of Sir S.Subramania Aiyar and others will be approved by all and carried out successfully.

"The Indians residing in foreign countries."

26. Referring to the condition of the Indian coolies in MAURITIUS, and other Settlements, the ANDHRAKESARI, of the 11th September, observes:--The French mercantile companies there carry on sugar-cane cultivation, and it appears that our coolies there have to carry, from morning till evening, baskets of night-soil for purposes of manuring their planatations. Alas! How horrible is it! The cooly is not told beforehand that he will have to do such a piece of work. When, once he is taken over there, he is made to do it. If he fails, he is beaten so as to make him bleed very profusely. Those who go there never return to their country. We need not blame anybody for their condition. It is only our "balck agents" that are the cause of this misfortune. They decoy the coolies with sweet words, promise "lumps of gold" and "hurl them into the pits of hell." All our people who are acquainted with this matter should check those agents, reveal the real state of affairs to the coolies emigrating to such Settlements and advise them that it is better to die at home than to go to distant places and undergo such great hardship. This unprecedented trade in human beings, which is carried on in this much advanced twentieth century, cannot be put an end to unless we all co-operate together.

27. A leader in the KERALA PATRIKA, of the 12th September, adverting to the various attempts that are being made by the people in certain quarters, to proclaim their loyalty to the Government, says, that in a vast empire consisting of people of different shades of opinion, it is only natural that some of them will have faith and trust in the administration, while a few will entertain contrary sentiments towards it. No Indian with common sense--not excepting those convicted of sedition--will seriously think of establishing SWARAJ or anything else immediately, by driving the British out of India. All Indians except a few of the anarchists are to be thought loyal to Government and this will be the generally accepted opinion of all but a few of the Europeans in England and India. Too much of revilling and flattering are in no way beneficial. It is the duty of every well-affected subject to prevent any harm, if there is any, threatening Government; but mere flattery of Government and Government officials, cannot be construed as anything else than a bid for official favours. The loyalty of Indians was clearly shown on the occasion of the visit of His ~~Majesty~~ Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. Now, because some of the Anglo-Indian papers impugn our loyalty, it does not follow that we should shout out our loyalty. Those who are of opinion that we should, are welcome to do so, but those who do not join them should not be construed as disloyal. There may be many who are not inclined to indulge in pranks and flattery. Really loyal persons need not proclaim their loyalty aloud. Sir Subramania Aiyar, whose opinion is in every way entitled to great respect, has opined that we should inform the Britishers that we are loyal to Government. But in deciding on a course of action for the purpose, it is necessary that the arguments on both sides should be carefully considered. Anyhow some means ought to be devised to promote cordiality between Europeans and Indians.

Loyalty of the Indians.

For the week ending 26th September 1908.

No. 39 of 1908.

I. FOREIGN POLITICS.

A strange irony.

1. The INDIAN PATRIOT, of the 25th September, writes as follows:--"Those who have been following Reuter's telegrams from South Africa would have been struck with the uncertain oscillations of our countrymen's fate in the Transvaal. At one time we hear that the Government of the Transvaal have resumed negotiations, at another time that the Imperial Government has studied the question and is studying it with unabated interest following the course of events with unceasing care. Yesterday's telegram said that with reference to 'the situation regarding Indians in Transvaal the policy of the Imperial Government is unchanged.' And what has been the policy of the Imperial Government? Reuter never informed us of that, and all that we know is that the Imperial Government has a capital way of 'assuming the God and affecting to nod' over the whole affair. We were told the Imperial Government cannot oppose 'the settled determination of all parties in the Transvaal to prevent further immigration.' But nobody need be told of such a well-known thing. The Imperial Government need not oppose what the Transvaal is resolved to do, but it would be very good if it would see that the Transvaal is not resolved to do an unjust thing, and also that Indians, who are British subjects, are treated at least 'something better than a dog' a little than a horse'. We were assured in all solemnity that both the Imperial and the Transvaal Governments were most anxious 'to make the details of administration as palatable as possible;' and indeed when Mr.Gandhi's son was let off and a desire to open negotiations was expressed, it seemed as if things would calm down. But surprises never cease; and the same wire that told us that 'telegrams addressed to Morley are receiving careful consideration and have been duly communicated to the Colonial office' told us also that 'the Natal Legislative Assembly has passed a Taxation Bill imposing a quadruple ordinary tax on owners

of land let to Indians.' There is a strange irony of fate in it, and if the furious telegrams that we send, protesting against the inhuman treatment of our countrymen, are only 'considered' and 'communicated' to the Colonial office, we fear there is no use in sending them at all. What we want is that responsible statesmen will read them, will understand them and take them to heart, picture the wrongs that we suffer and the hardships we undergo, and make a vigorous move. But from what Reuter says, we fear that everything is done in a 'redtape' way, putting the office seal and number on the telegram perhaps placing it on the officer's table, getting his signature, taking a press copy or two, and then communicating it to the Colonial office. No wonder then that we hear to-day from Reuter that negotiations for an understanding, which were announced day before yesterday, have fallen through. That leaves us exactly in the same place we were before. The Indians will have to 'hawk' and go to jail; the Government will have to arrest and deport, and go over the whole ground, till a great man is made a victim. Then there would be passing of telegrams, a 'halt' in the usual run of events, some negotiations and a falling off. Those who know Mr.Smuts know what Transvaal 'negotiations for an understanding' means. It means either nothing or, worse than that, another wrong or unfulfilled promise. With the Imperial Government 'carefully considering' the question, we had expected much. We learn now, however, that there is nothing to hope for in that quarter also. Our countrymen there have to make the best of the position themselves, aided by nothing except their indomitable courage and perseverance."

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) General.

4. The HINDU, of the 22nd September, has the following leader:--"The telegram received from our Simla correspondent to-day regarding the net annual addition of 45 lakhs, which has been

Our military burden enhanced

made to our permanent military burden, will come as a great surprise even to those who are prepared to uphold whatever Lord Morley does. The injustice of the thing is patent. The Commission which met in London last cold weather, for the apportionment of military expenditure between India and England was expected by Lord Morley himself to recommend a reduction of the heavy charges which are saddled on this country. India has never had a voice either in the imposition or in the apportionment of the charge and whatever the Ministry in power in England could manage to shift from the tax-payer in ~~India, whose votes do not xx exist and whose prote pxxxxxde~~ England, on whose votes their power depends, on to the tax-payer in India, whose votes do not exist and whose protests are unheard, has been systematically thrown upon her in defiance of justice or of fairness. The worst of the matter is, Lord Morley himself is perfectly aware of such injustice perpetrated from time to time; and while he was prepared to condemn such action in no uncertain terms ~~quietlyxallo~~ when it was done by the present Opposition when in power, he has now quietly allowed this country to bear the additional charge. When Lord Morley was repeatedly questioned in ~~his path towards the Indians gold. m~~ the house of Commons by Sir Charles Dilke in regard to this very question of payment by India for the training of the men sent out, Lord Morley specifically said that 'the Secretary for War will find me a dragon in his path towards the Indian gold-mine.' This obviously shows that he well knows that the WAR Office always looks to the 'Indian gold-mine' for increased income with a speculation as to prospective yield, and that he is also aware that the War Office has all along contrived to saddle India with as much of Army expenditure as can be managed. Apparently the dragon in this case had either gone to sleep or had been over-powered by the War Office when this 45 lakhs per annum was contrived to ~~the~~ be withdrawn from the mine.

The INDIAN PATRIOT, of the 23rd September, contains the following leader:--"Lord Morley has sprung another surprise on India in the shape of an extra military charge of £300,000

per annum. We have had enough of surprises of a political nature from the present Secretary of State; but we were not prepared for a surprise in the form of an additional financial burden. The apportionment of charges between England and India is a pretty old problem; and it is in regard to military expenditure that the utmost watchfulness has not averted gross injustice to India. Every opportunity has been taken advantage of by the British Treasury to relieve itself at the cost of the Indian tax-payer. Protests in Parliament, enquiries by Commissions, steady resistance by the Government of India, none of these have availed us in resisting the inroads of the British Treasury. The conclusions of the Welby Commission, unsatisfactory as they were in several respects, were indeed more satisfactory than the subsequent policy of His Majesty's Government. After every question connected with the apportionment of charges between England and India had been once considered and settled, the Home Government endeavoured to saddle the charges of the South African Garrison on this country; and before that the charge of entertaining Indian guests on the occasion of the Coronation had been thrown on India the then Secretary of State, Lord George Hamilton, without any suspicion abouts its underlying meanness. And now, under the regime of Lord Morley again, a permanent addition of 45 lakhs a year has been made to the already heavy military burdens of India. . . . . . There will be no end to this kind of encroachment on Indian revenues; and Lord Morley's present act is by no means the last. Every department of the Home Government is anxious to limit its expenditure, and no department is averse from finding money on the direction of least resistance. India naturaly offers the least resistance. It does not appear that the Secretary of State consulted even the Government of India before he sanctioned the addition £300,000 to the permanent military expenditure of the country. We hope the question will be raised when Parliament re-assembles, not that there is much chance of the decision being reversed, but that the possibility of a discussion may not altogether be absent from the mind of the deciding authority even when Indian interests are concerned.

6. The INDIAN PATRIOT, of the 24th September, publishes the following:--"We do not know what the writer in the BLACKWOOD means when he speaks of the 'writing on the wall' in India affairs. The whole thing is very clear to all who have followed the march of events, and there is no necessity to incite any sage to come and read to riddle. The whole truth is that the intellectual ferment created by western education and example has stimulated the political sense of the people; and the wave of an oriental awakening which began in Japan and is to-day manifest in Turkey has spread into India, and the people are making up their minds that they would live to the standard of citizens, in the right sense of the world. Once that is understood, there is no 'writing on the wall' anywhere, but then that has to be understood, and that is what many of us refuse to understand and with all the proofs daily accumulating before us. We see a campaign of 'sedition' waged from one end of the country to the other; we see people making it a regular part of their duty to know what is going on around them; we see them studiously following the thread of administration and protesting against any partiality or indifference on the part of those who ought not to be partial or indifferent. With all this before us it would be impossible to say that the people of India are the same as they used to be. They are not; and several intelligent men have found it out. Lord Morley found it out too, and expressed it openly the other day. When the BLACKWOOD writer calls it 'the writing on the wall' he is making the mistake that many of his countrymen make in India with regard to the political movement among the people. He thinks that all this is due only to the activity of 'a microscopic minority' and really the people have only nothing to do with it. It is true that out of the three hundred and odd millions that make up the people of India only a small number know what administration is and how that administration is carried on in India, but this small number is increasing every day, and they go about telling the millions of men what they know of. There is poverty in the land, and

The writing on the wall.

poverty, as everywhere in the world, breeds discontent. India is having a famine now, and it will take a long time before it will recover from its effects. With the repeated failure of crops the discontent increase. Nobody can make the crops grow, they would say, and that brings our economic questions into discussion.

Thus beginning at the bottom, with poverty, the ignorant masses are asking what all their misery means and get a ready answer from the 'agitator' who is always at hand; and the result is the Indian people are not so ignorant of the happenings of their country as there were. As the INDIAN DAILY NEWS observed rightly the other day, 'you cannot tax a people 50 per cent. of their whole assets without discontent, and it was probably lucky that there then existed so much ignorance on the subject of silver. Now-a-days when the number of those who can read is multiplying so rapidly, the masses listed to ideas which they would never have done before. The handful of agitators has a large backing in a sense and always will have so long as crops have failed and the prices of things go up and prosperity is absent.' But poverty is not the only thing in the way; there is the aspiration of the people to be made way for and that has to be done with a large heart. Unless that is done the discontent will grow. If to-morrow the country should all at once jump into prosperity the half-starved masses would not go to their 'holes' and eat away their lives in silent satisfaction. They would husband their resources, educate themselves, and then they will come out, too, and demand that they might be given their due. Once there is a real awakening, it pervades from one end to the other, and every unit in the community feels it. The man who cries for bread to-day will, if he gets the bread, cry for position. The world is progressing rapidly, and the spirit of progress is visible in India to a large extent. What is wanted is that the statesmen who welcome the Turkish constitution with so much enthusiasm shoudd realise that India is also an Eastern country and that she is asking something like what

Turkey has attained. Egypt is asking the same thing, and England has to resolve what she has to do. As Mr. Ratcliff, whose letter we publish elsewhere, observes, '' we shall be worse than crazy if we try to persuade ourselves that a movement which we greet as inevitable and infinitely promising in Turkey or Persia must be condemned as futile, or factitious, or wicked when it is manifested among a people habituated for a hundred years to our institutions, and for fifty years encouraged to share our intellectual heritage.' If that is realised, everything else is plain. There is no 'writing on the wall' anywhere. A large heart and a great head can make matters smooth in a very easy manner."

The increase of military charges in India.

7. In an article on the "Increased Military charges in India" the MADRAS STANDARD, of the 24th September, has the following:--". . . . . Lord Morley in his first budget speech criticised the late Government and said that they granted additional pay to the non-commissioned officers and men in the British army in India. "Those were circumstances', he said, ' for which neither the Government nor the governed in India had a shadow of responsibility. They were not responsible for the social cricumstances which made it necessary to add to the pay of the British soldier, but an increase of pay in the British contingent of the Indian military force was saddled on India, to the tune of nearly a million,' But now he gives his sanction to an addition to the military burden on India.' Nobody contends that India should not meet her own necessary and legitimate expenses. It is not proposed that another country should bear her just burdens. But she should not be made to bear more expenditure than is necessary for her defense or pay more than her just share for the defence of the Empire as a Whole. The question turns on what amount is necessary for these purposes. Previous to the Anglo-Russian Convention, the advocates of a reduction in the military expenditure in India were told that the possibility of a Russian invasion of India could not be ignored and that a reduction

in military expenditure could not be thought of as the military forces in India were none too much to repel a Russian invasion. On the other hand, it was contended, and the argument has great deal of force in it, that while the military forces in India were far stronger than is necessary for meeting internal disturbances, they were inadequate to meet the vast conscript armies which a power like Russia could bring into the field. It is impossible for an army on the voluntary system to be maintained adequate to fight a first-class ~~on the voluntary system to be maintained adequate to fight a first class~~ military ~~pxxxx~~ Power on land. No financier could meet the expenses of a voluntary regular army needed for such a purpose. With the Anglo-Japanese treaty and finally with the Anglo-Russian Convention the danger of a foreign invasion of India has been enormously diminished. But there was no reduction in the military expenditure whatever. On the other hand, we are in for an increase now. Of course, we are told that military expenditure is insurance money paid for the safety of India and that it would be foolish to weaken India's safety for the sake of a few millions, when the risk of doing so would be appalling. All this is beside the point. The contention of the advocates of the reduction of military expenditure in India is that the military expenditure which has been incurred by her for so many years is not needed for her purposes. They point out that she maintains troops far in excess of her needs which have been ~~incurred by her~~ utilised for Imperial purposes in no way directly affecting her, in China and South Africa, for instance. True, the Imperial Government bore all the charges while these troops were out of India. Lord Curzon dwelt much upon this point and dilated in his own way on the relief thus afforded to the Indian finances. But the position is that of a father asking his son who pays his own way to maintain an establishment of servants far in excess of his needs so that the father may indent on his son for servants when there is a big dinner coming off or a party of friends are staying for a week at his house. The father may pay the charges on account of the servants for the

day or for the week. But the arrangement can hardly be regarded as fair. A good porition of the military expenditure of India can be taken off, the country still paying for all the needs of her own defence and contributing her share to the defence of the Empire. This excess, which ought never to have been imposed, could be profitably utilised for her many and pressing needs in the direction of sanitation, education, etc.,"

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

I. FOREIGN POLITICS.

"Indians in the Transvaal"

9. In a leading article, the ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, of the 23rd September, writes as follows in English:--"Affairs in the Transvaal are taking more serious turn day by day. Educated Indians are being molested, oppressed and treated most inhumanly by the Government. Their frequent appeals to the Imperial Government, their several deputations, protests and even the intervention of eminent statesmen like Lord Ampthill proved futile. In their despair the Indian ex-sepoys memorialised the Imperial Government either to intervene on their behalf and save them from the oppression or order them to be shot on the very battlefield on which they fought for the British against the Transvaalers. Would there be anything more heartrending than this pitiful cry of oppressed British subjects? Yet the Imperial Government has done nothing practically in this direction. It is to be deeply regretted that the benevolent British Government has been neglecting one of its onerous duties. Providence entrusted the Indians to the British and if the British expose them to the barbarity of another Government, they shall be held answerable to man and to God. We hope our leading countrymen would send a largely signed memorial to the Imperial Government demanding justice and protection for our distressed brethren in the Transvaal."

Referring to the policy of the Colonial Government towards Asiatic immigrants, the MYSORE STAR, of the 21st September, writes at some length upon the hardships caused by the new Ordinance, the protests and appeals of the Indian sepoys in the Transvaal to the Imperial Government and of Sir P.M.Mehta representing Indian feeling at the treatment and the resolution of the Transvaal Indians under the leadership of Mr.Gandhi to submit to any punishment ~~and to defy the leadership of Mr.Gandhi to submit to any punishment~~ and to defy the law till it is modified, and concluded with a prayer that His Majesty's Government would ~~increas~~ interfere and remove the hardships to which the Indians are subjected in their struggle to maintain their self-respect and to get the unjust law modified.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(b) Courts.

The conviction of Sri Kirshnaswami Sarma.

10. While commenting on the sentence of transportation for five years passed upon Sri Krishnaswami Sarma by Mr.Broadfoot, the District Judge of Coimbatore, the NYAYABHIMANI, of the 17th September, says:--In the course of his judgment, the kind Judge expatiates upon his own benevolence and sympathy in having passed a sentence of transportation for only five years instead of for life, and says that some may regard this to be an act of misplaced leniency. We do not know what trouble this Judge took to deliver this judgment! A Judge of ordinary capabilities would have scrupled to deliver such a just judgment and lecture on it. But Mr.Broadfoot is a specially gifted man and, as he is also an incarnation of kindness, a receptable of justice and a mass of flesh imbued with extraordinary intelligence, he not only gave such a judgment but also shamelessly expatiated upon his own generosity! When this prince of fools had not even proper evidence before him, we cannot see where he found an authority for his decision!

It will be better if cases of sedition are tried hereafter by courts.martial, because the Judges in these courts will not attach any weight to human suffering, public justice or true evidence and will inflict the most cruel punishments upon the accused without the least compunction. By the Magistrate Courts, District Courts and High Courts accustoming themselves to deal out justice in this way, the whole country is spoiled and injustice reigns supreme.

12 (d) Education.

12. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 18th September, writes:--

The Calcutta University and the schools under it.

Sir B.Fuller the Lieutenant-Governor of East Bengal, resigned his appointment because the Calcutta University would not act according to his mandates and even the Viceroy sided the University. This very University, which was a tower of strength on the side of the colleges affiliated to it during the regime of Sir B.Fuller, has now begun to demand a written declaration from the authorities of every school or college that their students would not have anything to do with politics and threaten to disaffiliate any school or college which may refuse to do so. This threatening has already been given effect to in some cases, which means that the students of these schools cannot appear for any University examination. The result of this will be that the managers or proprietors of such schools cannot hope to continue to maintain their schools. To avoid all these consequences, these people have to give the declaration asked for. But all managers or proprietors will not do like this and will rather close their institutions altogether than give such a declaration. This is what the committee of the Bhola school recently did. They politely said that they could not take such a step at this juncture. It is simply ignorant on the part of the authorities of the Calcutta University to force the schools not to take part in political. Is it enough if the manager of a school gives a written declaration? What surety is there that the students

of this xxllxgx school will keep quiet like him? It is not possible for them not to understand the significance of events and the opinion of the popular leaders; and knowing this, they may at times defy the authority of the manager and commit mischief. This view has been corroborated also by the Secretary of the Aligarh College, the Principal of the Central Hindu College, Banaras, and the Principal of the Poona Decan College. Thus it is vain to try to prevent the occurrence of an event which cannot but happen.

(k) General.

The situation in Midnapur.

13. With reference to the promiscuous arrests and house-searches said to have been made by the Police in Midnapur, the NYAYABHIMANI, of the 17th September, says:--It seems the Collector of Midnapur, when interviewed by a representative of the AMRITA BAZAAR PATRIKA, stated that the causes of the Government having strong suspicisons against the inhabitants of Midnapur are that Kudiram Bose, Hemachander Das and Sathindranath Bose were all native of Midnapur, that Aravinda Ghosh had relatives in Midnapur, and that many other persons now under trial in connection with the bomb conspiracy had some connection or other with Midnapur. All these things have created a suspicion in the minds of the British Government against the people of Midnapur and it has now begun to arrest all bigwigs of the place. Another suspicion is created in our mind that is that the officials of the place could not have continued there so long without having a knowledge of these things. Though these might not have made bombs along with the conspirators, they should have allowed the latter to ply their trade and connived at it. So these must also be arrested and imprisoned and then alone will this bomb conspiracy be completely unravelled. These must be treated in a different way from the ordinary prisoners. The latter are handcuffed and tied with a rope and drawn to the prison. But these officials must be drawn by a noose round their necks. They must be made to

roll over a saltish ground strewen with powdered chilly, whipped as much as possible, starved and treated in all the cruel ways obtaining in the civilised world. If all this is done, they will surely confess that they not only made bombs themselves, but also instigated others to do it with a view to kill their own countrymen who are above them or compete with them in service. This confession is enough for the Magistrates to commit them to the sessions, where they are sure to be transported for life, and if the High Court also dismisses the appeal, they will be sent out of the country very soon. Till the Government adopts this course, it cannot get rid of the fear and anxiety which it has now. Even as a doctor tries his best to prolong the illness of his patient as long as he is paid by him, the English Government cannot get rid of the bomb scare as long as it continues to pay Mr.Norton. So, if this scare is to cease, Mr.Norton must be deported for some time and the officials of all the suspicious districts imprisoned and transported for life. If this is done peace is sure to be restored in India.

The reduction of the sentence passed on Sri Tilak.

14. With reference to the commutation of the punishment of transportation for six years inflicted on Sri Tilak by Justice Davar into one of simple imprisonment for the same period, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 21st September, observes:-- We are sincerely grateful to the Bombay Government for its having shown this kindness to Sri Tilak. We do not know how far this was a spontaneous act of clemency on the part of the Government of Bombay. But whoever may be the ultimate cause of this, the fame and credit of having reduced the punishment inflicted on Sri Tilak will rest only with the Bombay Government. Sir George Clarke, the Governor of Bombay, has shown by various acts, his farsightedness and affection for the people, and this act of his is sure to restore peace among the people of Bombay, especially the Marathas. The Govt. having taken this step at a juncture when all the Indians were centering their slender hopes only on the interference of the Privy Council for reducing the

sentence of Sri Tilak, will doubtless make the whole Indian community feel grateful to this Government and will also add to the loyalty of the Indian public.

15. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 22nd September, writes:--

The Indian students and the Government.

A committee has been appointed among the members of the India Office to formulate certain rules to regulate the conduct of the Indian students in England, and the reason for their having taken this step is stated to be their anxiety at these students misconducting themselves morally and also taking part in the disturbances with reference to the Government in India. It is no wonder that this anxiety has been created in the minds of the members of the India office, because, within the last three years, many restrictions have been placed on the students in India with a view to prevent their taking part in political disturbances and the Risley Circular published last year is an example of these The result of this circular is that neither the Indian students nor their teachers can attend any public meeting which discusses politics and the opinion of the Government and many of our people is that it is only such restrictions as these that are conducive to the progress of education in India. But the decision of the committee of the India Office shows that this opinion is not shared by the people in England. The members of this committee say, "No, one proposes that the Indian students in England should have no idea of the affairs of State, nor is it desirable that they must be under the direct supervision of the officials. It is not by restricting their freedom by official interference, but by providing means for generally improving their education and well-being and keeping them amidst good company, that they should be reformed." Moreover, the students in England are not subject to the same restrictions to which those in India are. The former freely take part in politics, have their societies and parties and discuss all the measures passed by the Parliament. They actively work on either side during a Parliamentary electi

While the English students have all these rights, it is not desirable that certain restrictions should be placed upon the Indian students reading with them. Our youngsters go to England not so much to read books as to be impressed with the avocations and character of the people there, the way in which their institutions are worked and their habits, customs and aims. Such being the case, how can this object be gained if some restrictions are placed upon their conduct while in England?

The Indian military expenditure

16. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 24th September writes:--The news that the Secretary of State for India has consented to increase the Indian military expenditure by 45 lakhs of rupees will be received with surprise and sorrow. Within the last fifty years, i.e, after Queen-Victoria took over the Government of India, the military expenditure has increased threefold, so that the expenditure in 1907 was more than 28 crores and the addition of 45 lakhs now makes it nearly 28½ crores. Many statesmen have contested that it is quite unjustifiable to increase this expenditure thus; many resolutions have been passed about it by the Congress and our representatives in the Legislative Council have criticised this on many an occasion. There was a discussion about it even in the Parliament and as a result of this a Royal Commission was appointed in 1895 to enquire into this matter. There have been any number of Commissions and enquiries and reports like this; but not a pie has been reduced from the military expenditure as a result of it. Strange as it may seem, not one report has been acted upon. Thus, though the Welby Commissioners, recommended a decrease of 2½ lakhs in the military expenditure by 2½ lakhs an additional burden of 3 lakhs was imposed upon India. Besides annually increasing this expenditure in this way, more than 70 crores of rupees have been spent as special military expenditure within the last thirty years. How can India bear so much burden? From the Anglo-Russian Convention and the statements of Lord Morley in 1906,

we expected that there would be a reduction in this expenditure; but, on the other hand, we now see it has been increased. If we protest against this, perhaps Lord Morley will say that there is no use of discussing about "a settled fact." We do not know if Lord Morley feels that this settled fact is entirely against the deliberate promises of the Crown and is also very unjust. He has decided this without bringing it before the Parliament. The Indians have neither any franchise nor any powers and they do not seem to have any chance of getting justice even if they complain about anything. We have nothing else to do now than criticise this measure in public meetings and impress upon the minds of the British public that it is unjust and see if we can gain anything from this.

The SASILEKHA, of the 25th September, asks, "What has India gained under the present Liberal Government?" and answers that Acts have been passed imposing restrictions on the subjects and the newspapers, and adds that a telegram has been received from Simla stating that military expenditure hasbeen increased by 45 lakhs. It is, indeed, fair that India should bear the cost of maintaining an army sufficient to guard India. But the Indian army is now and then taken to other countries, such as China and South Africa to serve in wars and help the English army. So, the Indians plead that a moiety of the military expenditure should be xxxxx borne by England. Notwithstanding their pleadings the military expenditure has been allowed to increase instead of its being reduced.

Public service and the Mussalmans.

17. The JARIDAH-E-ROZGAR, of the 19th September writes a lengthy article under the heading "Public service and the Mussalmans" of which the following is an excerpt: "The Mussalmans have ~~taken~~ shaken off their lethargy and have given up their sedentary habits and conservative ideas so far as English education is concerned." The kind and benevolent British Government, in order to give an impetus to the English education of the Mussalmans, and to xxex

ameliorate their condition, have awarded scholarships and have conferred upon some of the Mussalmans higher appointments. The result of the endeavours of the sympathetic and benign Government to improve the educational status of the Muslim community is that the number of school-going youths is rapidly increasing. Even in technical schools, one or two Muhammadans are receiving technical education. The greatest obstacle in the path of the Mussalmans, to educating their children, is the limited means of their parents and guardians. The highest salary enjoyed by Mussalmans is only Rs.60 or Rs.70 per month, which is quite inadequate to meet the necessary expenses of their large families much less to give a sound education to their children. All the Government offices are filled by Muhammadan peons wearing badges and toiling for their bread. The native head clerks and managers of the offices do not give these poor and helpless Mussalman servants any opportunity to represent matters direct to Sahibs (British officers). The Government out of their wonted compassion and sympathy have passed orders for the encouragement of the Mussalmans, but these orders are shelved and lodged by the said managers and head clerks. The proportion of Muhammadans in such offices as these, i.e., High Court of Judicature, Madras, Madras Collector Office, Government Secretariats, Board of Revenue, Offices of the Director of Public Instruction, Inspectors-General of Registration and Police, Stamp and Stationery, etc., is not more than 1 or 2 per cent.- whereas almost all officials are Hindu brethren. It is only the Office of the Accountant-General and Post Offices that have complied with the Government order which delegates to the heads of departments, the power to appoint such Mussalmans as clerks as have studied as far as the Matriculation or the Upper Secondary class. But no action has been taken in the other public offices. We request our popular kind, and benevolent Government to be pleased to pass an order to the effect that a public notice be given of any vacancies which may occur in any public offices and that the officer himself must make appointments without consulting his assistants. The loyalty of the Mussalmans to the British Crown has been universally acknowledged by British administrators.

VI. MISCELLANEOUS.

19. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 19th September, observes:--

The sufferings of the Indians in the Transvaal.

A telegram received from London yesterday states that the British Minister is in correspondence with the Transvaal Government about the treatment of the Indians in the Transvaal., and that ~~the~~ he believes that the Transvaal Government will soon come to a just and amicable settlement. How far this belief will be borne out by facts is to be seen only hereafter. One cannot be too sure of the Transvaal Government sticking to a conclusion once arrived at. Some time back, when the Indians, in a body, refused to register themselves according to the procedure laid down by the Transvaal Government, the whole affair was settled by a sort of compromise and it was Mr.Smutts, the Secretary to that Government, who settled the terms of this compromise. This happy settlement was received with joy, not only by us, Indians, but also by the British Ministers. But soon afterwards Mr.Gandhi and others complained that the settlement come to by Mr.Smutts was not acted upon and the Indians there resolved once again to refuse to take out licenses for trade or even to go out of the Transvaal and to stand by their rights as before, braving all hardships that may be caused thereby. As a consequence of this decision, many respectable peoples are being imprisoned every day. Even in Natal the Indians are being forced to leave the colony and are being imprisoned for refusing to do so. The same is the state even in Durban and the people of this town recently wired to the Sheriff of Bombay to convene meetings throughout India and represent their grievances to the Imperial Government. Accordingly a public meeting was held in Bombay under the presidentship of Sir Pherozeshah Mehta and a telegram was sent to the Secretary of State for India, and the Madras Mahajana Sabha also adopted the same course. It has been pointed out in these telegrams that the sufferings of the Indians in the colonies not only affect the Indians there, but also account, in a way for the unrest in India. How is it possible for us to be unruffled when our countrymen suffer in foreign countries by

the hardships caused by the foreigners? Will the Englishmen in England be unmoved, if their countrymen settled in China are teased by the Chinese Government? Will not the Indians also feel like this? In the Queen's Proclamation, which we published yesterday, she promised, calling the Almighty God to witness, that she would treat her Indian subjects on an equal level with her other subjects and that her successors also would stick to this promise. The Indians rely only on this Proclamation for their rights and future well-being. ~~Indians rely only on this Proclamation for their fights and future wellbeing.~~ When we are now asked to make an open expression of our loyalty to the British Government, is it not desirable that this Government should also remove the causes of our affliction? So we pray, with the whole country, that the British Government, who hold freedom and justice as their motto, will soon remove this great calamity which has happened to the Indians.

The situation in India.

21. A correspondent in the BHARATA BHANDHU, of the 12th September, gives a translation of Mr.W.T.Stead's remarks regarding India in the REVIEW OF REVIEWS for the month of August, as follows: For some months past the situation in India has been fearful. It has become still more so by the sentences of six years' transportation passed by the Bombay High Court on Mr.Tilak. The punishment was immediately followed by riots in Bombay and increased tension between the rulers and the ruled throughout India. In view of the sudden upheaval in Turkey, nobody can deny the possibility that Lord Morley may have to face an equally irresistible state of affairs in India. The success of the Japanese has been most opportune. As it has demonstrated the ability of Asiatics to defeat the Europeans in fair fight, the Chinese, Persians and Turks have all stirred themselves from their sleep and are working out popular liberties. Is it not a mistkae, then, to expect that this earthquake (the social convulsion) which has

shaken the vast region extending from Tokio to the far distant Monstair on the opposite hemisphere will leave India alone unshaken? With what grace is Lord Morley refusing to grant constitution of some kind or other to India when even the Caliph at Constantinople has granted a constitution to his subjects for fear of his deposition. The traditions of the Sultan are autocratic. Since the remote period of Mohamet, Muhammadans never developed representative institutions, But the traditions of the Englishmen are quite different. How could the British, who are alive to the liberties of the subjects, resist the popular unrest when even the Mikado of Japan, the Emperor of China, the Shah of Persia, the Tsar of Russia and the Sultan of Turkey have not been able to resist it? No, they will not be able to resist it and the British Government are considering to grant us their subjects certain privileges soon.

For the week ending 3rd October 1908.

No. 40 of 1908.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY NATIVES.

I. FOREIGN POLITICS.

1. In an article on the Turkish revolution and political advancement among Muhammadans xxxxxx the INDIAN PATRIOT, of the 1st October, has the following:--

A nation's upheaval.

"Even in India, where perhaps despotism has left his stamp in a higher degree, a general awakening is visible. Opinions of the Koran's teachings, as Mr.Morrison said, are changing remarkably. Every day we have more and more educated and enlightened Muhammadans taking their ranks in the army of public life.

Say that they are incapable of any polical reform is to be unfair to them.

660 They are intelligently entering into the movements around them and contributing their share towards their success. That the Muhammadans have to bestir themselves up, take their head from the Koran and use it now and then at any rate, for public matters, is generally acknowledged; and the best illustration is to be found in the fact that many worm-eaten Moulvis issued out of

their fastness during the recent anarchist manifestations in Bengal and cried out hoarsely that they abhorred them. If that means anything at all it means that the Muhammadans are not content with taking to their Koran and their Mosque, but are interesting themselves with what is ~~the-most-educative~~ going round them. So far as India is concerned Muhammadanx political activity is an established fact. Only the current has not steadied itself into a regular stream. There is still division in the camp as to which lines to take. Some of them would cleverly take advantage of the favour shown to them by the Government; others would throw in their lot with the Hindus and demand ~~the-Govern~~ for reforms; Whatever it is, the desire is there, the desire for political recognition, and it is bound to come into the proper channel sooner or later. The Governor of Bombay has rudely shaken any hope of laying much store by the 'consideration' which the Government may have for the Muhammadans as a whole. The Government care more for efficiency of administration and they would not care to sacrifice it for the sake of any particular sect. The Muhammadans will have to bring with it a large heart and a wider vision. Once a large heart and a wider vision come into play narrow prejudices would xxxxx cease, an inelastic religion will perforce become elastic, and moved by a common force, actuated by a common impulse, and aspiring to a common goal, the power of Islam in India will make itself felt; and in the great upheaval Islam is going to have in the future, India would take her due share of responsibility."

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(b) Courts.

2. The INDIAN PATRIOT, of the 1st October, remarks:--". .

The MAHRATTA contempt case.

It seems to us that the High Court has, in this case, far overstepped the limits of moderation, and has regrettably failed to take into account a contingency which, if it arises, will not redound to its glory. Whatever may be the powers of the High Court in this

regard, a sentence such as it has passed, involving indefinite imprisonment as an alternative to forced submission and apology, is unknown to criminal law. There is no class of crime in respect of which a person may be required to make submission and apology as an alternative to indefinite, if not lifelong, imprisonment. Mr.Kelkar might have escaped punishment by making an apology in the beginning. But he preferred to stand on his rights and take the consequence. That consequence has been not merely a punishment for his offence, but a further punishment for his contumacy in not pleading guilty and seeking the mercy of the court. No prisoner is bound to do either, and no criminal law provides a penalty for failing to do so. It seems extraordinary that a High Court should force a man to act against his conscience, and that it should seem to revive a practice of the middle ages of persecuting people for their conscientious scruples. Mr.Kelkar rightly or wrongly feels that he has done nothing wrong to which he should plead guilty, and for which he should express repentance; and he takes the risk. But the High Court in effect says: 'No, we will not let you off with a punishment; we will force you to make submission and apology.' If Mr.Kelkar, like some valiant English fighters for liberty, refuse to submit, if he prefer jail to freedom with humiliation, what is the High Court to do? Is he to be made to pine and die in jail? Or is the High Court itself to repent of its haste, and order his release? In England at one time men were tortured and put in the pillory for the obstinacy of their religious opinions; but the sense of the English people has revolted against such tyranny, and human conscience and liberty are, now held more sacred. The High Court, indeed without meaning it, has committed itself to a course which will fail to receive justification from any example in modern history, or from the sense of any modern community."

(k) General.

3. The WEST COAST SPECTATOR, of the 26th September, writes as follows:--". . . . . Lord Morley has decided to saddle India with a further increase of military expenditure to the tone of Rs.45 lakhs per annum as additional charge for recruitment and training of British soldiers for service in this country. This announcement will come as a surprise on the public. The monstrous injustice of the new arrangement is too patent to be described here. The military expenditure has been one of the darkest spots in the British administration; and Indian leaders have persistently been dinning into the ears of their rulers the injustice of systematically increasing the expenditure. With the advent of the Liberal Government who were pledged to the reduction of army and navy expenditure, it was hoped that India's burden would be lightened. The hope became stronger when Lord Morley recently said in the House of Commons that he would stubbornly resist the attempts of his colleagues to make inroads onthe 'Indian gold mine'. The injustice of the whole affair becomes stronger and more glaring when we note the fact that the British Exchequer pays the substantial part of the military and naval expenditure of those useless appendages to the Empire--the Colonies. As the HINDU very rightly puts it, what is perhaps most reprehensible in the business is that 'Honest John' should have consented to carry out the decisions of the committee without giving an opportunity for a discussion of the matter in Parliament. Lord Morley has been most profuse in expressions of his desire to take Parliament into his confidence before launching out any new schemes, and the step he has now taken, we fear, reflects little credit on his integrity. The proposal has been hurried through, and we are informed that the Indian Finance Minister is already arranging to provide for the additional charge as the recommendations will be given effect to from the 1st May last. The matter has therefore become a 'settled fact' and a public opinion and agitation cannot force Lord Morley to reconsider his decision. But, at any rate, this 'settled fact' hurried through without respecting in the

A monstrous injustice.

least Indian public opinion on the question of military charges, and considering the monstrousity of the injustice, may become xwe are afraid, another arrow in the quiver of the militant Indian Swarajist."

4. The MADRAS STANDARD, of the 29th September, writes:--

Reform proposals.

"The Government of India will in a few days forwad to the Secretary of State their views on the reforms that have been occupying their attention for such a long time. In all probability Lord Morley will make an announcement on the reform proposals in Parliament during the autumn session. We doubt not that following the announcement a great body of criticism and suggestion on the proposals will be forthcoming from many quarters both in England and in India. The Congress will doubtless discuss the subject and its opinions will be entitled to the respect which a body so representative of the best thought of India deserves. What are the particular subjects with regard to the reform proposals which the Congress should discuss? The Congress should and doubtless will lay stress on the necessity for some appreciable advance in self-government in India. The Legislative Councils will have to be enlarged. There should be an increase in the pxxxlxxx proportion of elected members to these Councils and a widening of the functions of the Councils should be advecated. It is hardly necessary to repeat that the scheme promulgagted from Simla last year does not involve any real advance in self-government. On the other hand, as we have pointed out on not a few occasions in our columns, some portions of the scheme are distinctly reactionary in their tendency. In the next place the Congress should strongly advocate the admission of competent Indian gentlemen to the Council of the Secretary of State. The selections should be made so that independent Indian opinion may be represented on it. Indian officialdom, so far as it is merely officialdom, does not differ much from European officialdom. Not much is gained from the point of view of India if Indians who are merely representing

official views find a place in the Secretary of State's Council. Then, again, it is not only desirable but very essential that Indian should be appointed to the Executive Councils of the Viceroy and the Governors of Bombay and Madras. The necessity for this reform has been admitted insome Anglo-Indian quarters. The reason for such admission is plain. In order that the executive Government may do its work with the greatest amount of benefit to the people it is necessary that it should look at various projects and actions from the point of view of the people also. It is only one who is of the people, born and bred among them, who can readily understand the view taken of Government measures and actions by those whom they affect. In order that the Government may not commit mistakes whose effects may be far-reaching it is essential that the point of view of the people should be represented on the executive bodies by Indians. Then again, there is necessity for a large substitution of the economic and equally efficient Indian agency for the costly foreign agency in the public service, especially the judicial branch of the Indian Civil Service, and ~~public-s~~ in the higher branches of the Educational, Medical, Police, Excise, Opium, Customs, Post-Office, Telegraph, Forest, Survey Engineering, and other departments. Lord Morley has, on more than one occasion, indicated his view as to the desirability of employing a larger number of Indians in the higher posts comprised within these various departments. As the London correspondent of a Bombay Paper observes it is in this section of the reform proposals that we come up against the most strongly entrenched vested interests and the changes which are necessary can only be brought about by a gradual and even tedious process. Let us hope that Lord Morley will give that process a good start before he leaves office. There ought to be a cautious but steady improvement of the position of Indians in the army. But surely it is not desirable that good enough proposals against which nothing conceivable can with reason be urged should be rendered nugatory, like the scheme of granting commissions in the Indian army to scions of aristogratic houses in India. On these lines no progress is possible. Another subject which the Congress should consider

the Decentralisation of district administration and extension of municipal self-government. Something has been attempted, in this direction, so far by the appointment of the Decentralisation Committee. There is a well-founded hope, strengthened by several ministerial utterances upon the subject, that the Commission will recommend and the Government will carry out some valuable reforms in this connection. Effect has already been given in the Bombay Presidency to municipal reforms in the shape of an extension of the Principle of direct election. These are doubtless the precursors of similar changes in the different provinces in the rest of India. Then, again, there are other administrative reforms such as the separation of the judicial and executive functions. Already the trial of the scheme in certain selected districts in Bengal has been made the occasion of virulent, partisan criticism by a section of the Anglo-Indian press in order to bring discredit on the whole scheme. There is no doubt, however, that a large portion of British India is ripe for such a scheme which is long overdue and if only a little sympathy and patience are exercised in the beginning by the higher authorities the scheme is sure to prove a decided success. There are some other important topics in connection with the reform proposals which the Congress might deal with which we shall refer to in a subsequent issue."

Reduction of Mr.Tilak's sentence.

6. The MADRAS STANDARD, of the 29th September, writes: -- "Elsewhere we publish a telegram from our Allahabad correspondent giving the substance of the views of a correspondent of the PIONEER and of the PIONEER itself with respect to the reduction of the sentence on Mr.Tilak. The Bombay Government in the exercise of their prerogative of mercy have, in consideration of Mr.Tilak's age and ill-health, thought it necessary to convert the sentence of six years' transportation to one of the simple imprisonment and have reduced the fine. This has been done in accordance with the

best traditions of British justice and in the noblest spirit of British statesmanship. Vindictiveness has never formed part of British character, and it was only recently that a great English writer Mr. Frederic Harrison dealt with the question of punishment for political offences not only in a spirit of humanity put as laid down in English jurisprudence. His Excellency Sir George Clarke, who is alike a typical Englishman and a highminded and far-seeing British statesman, has acted as other British statesmen before him have acted. But now the PIONEER and itsx correspondent tell us that a large majority of Englishmen in India disapprove of this action. We know enough of responsible Englishmen in India so as to enable us to say that they would never disapprove of an action inspired by feelings of considerate humanity. Of course in all countries and in all communities there are individualsx who are narrow-minded enough to imagine that they are the only favoured beings of Providence and that vindictiveness ought to be a matter of State policy. But the PIONEER does not stopx with xxx this. It leaves Sir George Clarke alone and is furious against Lord Morley whose 'Philosophical Radicalism', it ventures xx to ridicule. Lord Morley xxxxx knows how to treat such inane vapourings of intolerant political fanatics. The arrows of the PIONEER cannot reach the exalted sphere in which Lord Morley moves. But Lord Morley's eyes will be opened to certain realities to which the Indian public have been constantly directing his attention. He has of course dealt with the point in reply to Lord Curzon. He will see that the representatives of the Curzonian creed are still at their favourite game in India. What has this PIONEER said about the Delhi punkah coolie case and similar cases? It has had nothing x to say. But now that the Bombay Government have reduced the sentence on Mr.Tilak to one of simple imprisonment it breathes brimstone and fire and falls fould of the illustrious statesman who presides over the destinies of India xx xxx in England. What, we ask, has the PIONEER to do with the exercise of their prerogative of mercy by the Government ? What right has it to dictate to a responsible Government in regard to a prerogative which exists irrespective of what the law enjoins? Perhaps responsible Englishmen in India from the

Viceroy downwards and the Secretary of State know nothing at all of the bad Xixx feeling which writings of this kind excite. It is but right that they should come forward and condemn them in unambiguous and unmeasured terms."

8. The WEDNESDAY REVIEW, ofthe 30th September, has the following:--"The most disquieting news of the week is the reported addition of 45 lakhs to our military burdens. It is the result of the deliberations of the committee appointed sometime ago by Lord Morley. The committee were asked to apportion the Military charges between England and India and their idea of justice has led them to call upon India to find another £300,000 for the upkeep of an army which we do not require either for the maintenance of internal order or to protest us from foreign aggression. It has been pointed out ever so many times by Military experts that the army which we are saddled with is far too large for our purposes and considering not only the law-abiding nature and the loyalty of the people, but what is more important, the general poverty of the land the strength of our xx army might be appreciably reduced without any danger whatsoever. Unless the Military advisers of the Home Government are callous enough to dump upon India, a disproportionately large army and to think that India must be utilised merely as the training ground of the British soldier and must pay for the privilege of maintaining him because his services may be required for the outlying skirts of the Empire, there is hardly any justification for piling up our military expenditure in this heartless fashion. It was proved beyond the shadow of a doubt during the latex Boer war that a large part of the army which we pay for could be withdrawn with perfect safety for service in a distant country, and of course the very fact that Indians gave no sort of trouble to the Government when they knew that a good part of the army had been withdrawn, but on the contrary fxx offered prayers in their temples and mosques and churches for the success of British arms, xmust furnish abundant proof of

Indian Military expenditure.

the contention that the country does not require at any time such a vast and costly army. With a peace-loving people to deal with and the bogey of a foreign invasion effectively laid at rest there can be no conceivable ground for advocating the maintenance of an army at its present strength and much less to add to it."

The MADRAS STANDARD, of the 2nd October, writes:--"It is stated that the committee appointed to consider the apportionment of Military charges between India and England has decided to cast upon this country an additional military expenditure of 45 lakhs a year. In the decision thus come to India had no voice. She knew nothing of what was coming and knows even now nothing of the process by which the conclusion has been arrived at. In India reforms of a most urgent kind are postponed for want of funds, and even the expenditure on education is utterly inadequate to meet the demand. But the military expenditure, in spite of repeated protests, has been steadily rising. It comes now to over one fourth of the toatal revenues of India. We need hardly point out that so far as India is concerned there is no necessity for a large standing army. At no time after the Sepoy Mutiny has any need been felt for an army as large as the one which is now maintained at the cost of the Indian tax-payer. We are at intervals troubled with frontier wars. But these wars could be prosecuted to a successful termination by means of a fraction of the force the present dimensions. In most cases where there has been any outbreak of lawlessness the ordinary police have been able to grapple effectively with the situation, and under extraordinary circumstances a small band of the Military could overawe and subdue even the most fanatical and disorderly lawbreakers. After all, as the late Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman said, the loyalty of the Indian people is the strongest bulwark and the best defence of India. Under these circumstances we are utterly unable to see the justice and propriety of the decision now arrived at in England under the auspices of the present liberal Government. The liberals came to power pledged to reduce expenditure on the Army and the Navy. But it would seem that their pledge does not affect India--which has no votes. In England the present

(x) now maintained in the country and we know that the preservation of internal order and peace and tranquillity does not require

Government have found it impossible to reduce expenditure without exposing themselves to the opposition of the electorate. Besides to add to their inability, they have embarked on costly schemes such as old age pensions. Where is the money for all this to come from? How is any reduction in Military expenditure to be effected? Mr.Haldane, the War Secretary, has been at his wits end. The Apportionment Committee has now come to his rescue and has imposed upon India a fresh burden out of all proportion to its needs. We cannot understand how Lord Morley could have become a party to this arrangement. He knows in what state India is and how sorely pressed for funds this poor and famine stricken country is. In our judgment the matter should not be dropped here. Protests must go forth and the members of both the great English parties must be appealed to. We have a good case. If the Anglo-Russian Agreement could give us no relief and if the fact that Indian troops were employed in South Africa during the Boer War and in China during the Pekin incident is no argument in favour of a reduction of our Military burdens, what else can be. If for purely Imperial purposes, India is to maintain an army, how can it be defended on grounds of justice? Points such as these must be pressed home to the mind of the British Parliament and the British electorate."

VI. MISCELLANEOUS.

9. The HINDU, of the 29th September, contains the following:-

The Congress in Madras.

"We publish below the representation and protest made to the Provincial Congress Committee in regard to the proposal to hold the Indian National Congress in Madras, by Indian gentlemen residing in Madras and by some from the Mofussil, whose opinions it cannot be disputed, are entitled to respectful consideration on the matter upon which they have addressed the Committee. That they have felt bound to take this course would be clear from the peculiar circumstances which we have already adverted to in these columns in the matter of the formation of the Congress Committee

and its precipitate resolution inviting the Congress to Madras next December. We are gratified to find that our remarks on the matter have been so quickly, and, as far as we are concerned, so unexpectedly, confirmed by so large a body of patriotic and cultured Indian opinion, as the subscribed names unmistakably show. We may also draw attention to the various letters which are appearing in our correspondence columns on the subject. If notwithstanding this remarkable and timely expression of adverse opinion, the members of the Provincial Congress Committee persist in carrying out their proposal, it is entirely their own affair, but the words, 'Indian National Congress', will then acquire a new signification. We are reluctantly obliged to add that the spirit which had dominated some of the prominent members of the Congress Committee in their proceedings hitherto, seems still to stand in the way of a reasonable solution of the difficulty. We learn that previously to the following protest being despatched to the Congress Committee, a proposal was made on behalf of the signatories for a private meeting to be held in which a few of the signatories and a few of the members of the Committee may talk matters over in order to arrive, if possible, at a settlement, of existing differences of opinion. This proposal was made to the Hon'ble Nawab Syed Mahomed, President of the Committee, who communicated it to the Hon'ble Mr.V.Krishnaswamy Aiyar, but the latter gave a negative reply to the proposal, and there the matter dropped--Ed.H.

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION

(b) Courts.

The conviction of the editor of the MAHRATTA.

10. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 1st October, writes as follows on the sentence passed on Mr.Kelkar the editor of the MAHRATTA, who has been convicted of contempt of court:--Mr.Kelkar has been sentenced to pay a fine of Rs.1000 and a further sum of Rs.200 for costs and to be imprisoned in the common jail for 14 days and for such

further time as may elapse until the fine and costs have been paid and until he has made a suitable submission and apology to the court. This seems indeed a curious sentence, especially the latter part of it, the like of which has never been pronounced before. Suppose Mr.Kelkar does not at all apologize, does it follow then that he has to remain in the jail for ever? We are of opinion that the sentence is not at all legal inasmuch as it lays down that the convicted has to remain in jail indefinitely till such time as may elapse till he offers his spology. It will be legal only when it defines the period for which he has to undergo imprisonment if he fails to offer his apology within the fourteen days' period of imprisonment.

Administration of justice

12. The HINDU, of the 21st September, (received on the 29th September) contains the following dialogue:-

Ramanna Sastry:--It seems that hereafter they are going to administer justice according to Manu's Code of Laws.

Karakata Reddi.--Who--is it the Government?

R.--Courts.

K.--What! They are introducing all unnecessary things.

R.--I swear by you, would I speak a falsehood to you?

K.--What else is it but falsehood? How long is it since Manu's Code of Laws was burnt (fell out ofuse). Hitherto, it was followed to some extent. They have now got vexed with it. Finally laws have come into being which our forefathers neither heard nor saw. In this crisis, what! You speak of Manu's Code of Laws?

R.--Alas! You have not indeed understood the secret.

K.--Kindly explain it to me.

R.--According to Manu's Code of Laws, Brahmins are acquitted whatever may be the offence committed by them.

K.--In ancient days, as the Brahmins were well versed in Vedic learning, they committed no offence. Even if they perchance committed a great offence, they were let off on some plea or other. Would it suit the present times.

~~R.--Then you are happy.~~

R.--Whether it suits the present times or not, it is going to be done so.

K.--Then you are happy.

R.--We are not happy at all.

K.--Who else then are happy?

R.--Doras (Europeans).

K--Your wit never fails you. How can Europeans become Brahmins?

R.--Is this all your intelligence? In ancient days, all the non-Brahmins were saluting the Brahmins. But now nobody salutes them. If a topi (hat) and a white face were seen, even Brahmins would not fail to salute him. If it were not done so, it would be considered a seditious offence. Therefore Europeans alone are to be regarded as the Brahmins of the present day.

K.--But--

R.--No use of 'But'. Whatever is done by these white gentlemen is right. Even if they should shoot Indians, or outrage women, it has become the practice to let off white offenders.

K.--Your views are peculiar. If there were one or two such stray cases, how could it be a practice?

R.--What, are you sleeping? It is not one or two only. During these four or five years, in every murder or rape case that was brought against the whitemen, the accused were acquitted as a rule.

K.--How then? Even under this Government, do such atrocities happen?

R.--Is the real state of affairs in India known to the King?

K--Then what is our fate.

R.--We have to pray to Sri Rama who removes all calamities and grants every kind of happiness.

15. Referring to the policy of Lord Morley, the HINDU KESARI of the 21st September (received on the 29th September) publishes the following humorous letter in Telugu:--It woudd appear that Sriyuta Boyamkel Chakravarti was first appointed as Judge in the High Court of Madras. But when he refused the appointment, it was offered to Sriyuta Binoda Chunder Mitter. After he also declined it, it was offered to Mr.Maulvi Abdul Rahim, and was accepted by him. It is rumoured that Mr.Chakravarti was appointed Chief Justice of the Allahabad High Court. These are all the tactics of reconciliation policy. Recent Bombay and Calcutta press prosecutions are the tactics of repression policy. Lord Morley mixed them both well and corked the mixture in a nice bottle, and made it a wonderful medicine. This medicine has been prepared to suppress the present unrest in India, at great cost and trouble. Testimonials regarding the efficacy of this medicine given by Messrs.Dutt and Gokhale, are wrapped round every bottle. May all patriotic people be greatly pleased at heart at this medicine and buy it and encourage me to import similar medicines from London.

Morley mixture.

16. The HINDU KESARI, of the 21st September (received on the 29th September) observes:--

"our duty"

Now the whole country is in agitation. Turn anywhere you like, you find too many press prosecutions and gagging Acts. The Government are engaged in considering whom they might send warrants against. The people also are getting themselves ready as if warrants ~~against.--The~~ had been issued against them. Some of them are taking a step forward and some others backward. Some are sacrificed in the flames of the Government, and some others are keeping off afraid of those flames. That anybody in India enjoys peace of mind is only a dream India whose people are naturally good has been involved is onlya in such an agitation. Under these circumstances everybody has to consider what we have to do.

Our first business is to encourage and embolden our brethren. We are nothing the results of repressive measures. They cannot at all crush the new spirit that has dawned on our country. But owing to these measures, this new spirit may not openly manifest itself but will work secretly. Therefore secret societies might be formed and horrible deeds perpetrated. When a disease is not allowed to be perceptible outside, the body will get rotten inside, until at last the disease suddenly manifests itself and develops beyond the control of man.

Our second business is the boycott movement. National education is the third business. There is another important work we have to do, namely, the settlement of our disputes by panchayats. We do not enjoy even the ~~tixe~~ slightest advantage from the judicial Courts established by Government. As time advances, perjury becomes common. By settlement of cases in Courts, the successful party is not much better than the losing party, who is reduced to a living corpse.

We have been able to sow the seeds of these during these three years. They have sprouted to some extent. Weeds have grown here and there and some moths also are blighting the plants. Therefore we have to nurse them removing the weeds and the insects. This is out duty. This is the decree of God. There may be many obstacles to the performance of this duty. But no obstacles or difficulties can withstand the will of God.

VI. MISCELLANEOUS.

The Indians and the Italians

18. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 28th September says:_-An English journal called STADIT compares the present position of the Indians with that of the Italians many years back and remarks:- "When there was once a great famine in Italy, impeding all trade and manufacture, the people emigrated in large numbers to foreign countries, earned money there, sent it to their motherland and raised it again to an opulent condition. Why not the Indians also do the same thing now?" But to which country are the Indians to

migrate? Wherever the whites have settled, they have placed restrictions on the entry of the Indians into that tract! When the Indians are thus prevented from entering any other country, how is it possible for them to earn money elsewhere and help their motherland?

The coming Congress.

19. Withxx reference to the strong protest made by a number of gentlemen in Madras and the mofussal against holding the Congress this year in Madras, the SWADESAMITRAN, xxxof the 30th September, observes:--Due weight must be attached to this protest, not only because of the pxx position of the persons making it, but also because of its being based on the present condition of India; for who can deny that the condition of India now is not what it used to be? The mental state of the Government is such that the least thing creates a suspicion therein. They regard as enemies even those who have an unchangeable love for the British rule and who believe that India can have salvation only from the British. Though we know that it is only a few that commit vicious deeds against the British Government, some Englishmen in India and in England think that the xxxxxx number of these mischievous persons is far greater and terrify the Government. These insist that we should make an open declaration of our loyalty and also properly criticise those that are disloyal. While this is the state of mind of the authorities, the popular mind toox is in a disturbed state. The people are afraid that any statement about any subject will engender the suspicion of the Government. On the whole, there is not mutual confidence between the rulers and the ruled, and, as Mr.Ananthacharlu and xx others say, more harm than good can result from convening the Congress at this juncture. There is no reason to think that this state of affairs will continue for ever. If the proposed reforms of Lord Morley are carried out, the mutual confidence between the rulers and the ruled will be restored and the authorities will begin to listen to the words of the people with sympathy and

affection. This time is sure to come soon and everything good will come out of the Congress then. So the people are anxiously awaiting the decision of the Provincial Congress Committee.

<u>For the week ending the 10th October 1908.</u>

<u>No. 41 of 1908.</u>

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY NATIVES.

I. FOREIGN POLITICS.

The Racial Question--Australia

1. The HINDU, of the 2nd October, writes:--"We remember having once heard a remark that while the Australian exclusion of colored people is due to reasons of policy, that of South Africa is due to inveterate race-hatred and prejudice. Practical-minded people will not be inclined to see much in this distinction without difference. Perhaps after all, to say to the colored man 'the honour of your presence would at present cause inconvenience' instead of 'get out, you, d-----d nigger' might be a lesson in politeness and indicate good breeding, but in so far as the ejected party is concerned, we do not suppose there would be much material difference, seeing that he stays out all the same in either case. This policy of the closed door has been having a good deal of discussion in the London papers received by the last mail. The London TIMES has an article from its special correspondent entitled 'A white Australia and its defence' which, though we do not agree with its conclusions, ~~xxxxx~~ we must say is temperately and reasonably argued. One ~~xxxxxx~~ feature of the whole situation is the peculiar attitude that has been taken up by England. That attitude would seem to be one of 'let well alone'. Such a policy is no doubt excellent in the abstract. Sitting on the hedge, though a delicate and difficult feat, may present attractions to a certain type of mind. The unfortunate thing, in such a position is that it is apt to be misunderstood by both parties. When we say this, we must not be taken as remiss in appreciating England's delicate position.

The delicacy of the position is not likely to diminish but rather to increase in course of time; when the new and various activities which are at work in the East have succeeded in galvanising the East into life, we do not suppose the Eastern people (+) appropriating a territory of three million square miles and proposing to exclude all whose skin is not white, would be amusing if it were not for the very grave issues involved in the question. That the thing has been successfully done hitherto at all, is no doubt due to a consciousness of British protection in case of complications with the nationalities excluded. But this consciousness has not made Australia in the least careful to avoid these complications. Indeed Australia reminds one of a child grown up enough to have desires of its own and ~~reminds one~~ stick to them with perverse pertinacity, but not yet enough to take the responsibility for its actions. The bigger brother is always in the background and the child is conscious of it. But in this perpetual countenancing of Australian action, the British Government is evidently not able to recognise an injustice to others, an invidious difference in treatment which has not been without its effect in accentuating racial differences.

2. The INDIAN PATRIOT, of the 8thOctober, writes:--"The latest news from the Transvaal is that seventy-six Indians have been sentenced to pay a fine of twenty-five pounds or in default two months' imprisonment; of course they have gone to prison, for that it the way they fight out in South Africa, and every time that a man goes to gaol there is a sensation, and more men come forward to go to goal and always manage to go. For the credit of the Boer Government it has to be said that they do not mean to give way, and so far as their gaols are concerned, they are resolved to fill them up with Indians, and if necessary, liberate criminals of other classes to find room. The Indians and the Boers are a very clever match and they are fighting it out, and we may depend upon it, will fight to the bitter end. If the Indians, resort to passive resistance the Boers aim at the exterminationof Indians as a whole, so that, as far as possible, there may not be many

Will they ever act at all?

(+) will put up patiently with the exclusive selfishness of the whites in Australia and elsewhere. The cool selfishness of a population of five millions of people.

Indian to war against. Reuter wiring day beforeyesterday, for instance, told us that fifty-eight Indians who returned to Transvaal after a visit to India have been sentenced to two months' imprisonment in addition to deportation. They could have deported them and saved two months' prison rations for fifty-eight prisoners, but the deported people always come back again and get themselves arrested and hauled up; and, therefore, the Government would show them what their goals are like, and a particularly harsh treatment may intimidate some of the Indians into giving up the warfare. 'This has infuriated the Indian community,' says Reuter, 'old residents and their children being treated as prohibited immigrants.' It is good they are infuriated from an agitator's point of view, for it will serve to keep up the spirit; but how long is this sort of thing to go on? Has not the Imperial Government any responsibility whatsoever? Some time ago we heard that some correspondence was going on and that the question was having 'careful consideration'. But if the arrest of domiciled Indians returning from their country, or the imprisonment of seventy-six Indians, is the result of such correspondence or consideration, we have to give up hope. But if the Imperial Government refrain from taking any definite action promptly they will rue it not long after. Signsx are not wanting to show that the Boer has fully understood the ~~flatering~~ faltering mood of the Imperial Government, and is not slow to ascribe it to fear of displeasing them; and if the English are not going to tell them that the Boer is still to be ~~kex~~ kept under control he will manage to get out of hand. Unfortunately, too, Mr.Chamberlain is out of office and Parliament. The Boer would certainly respect him better. Reuter wiring yesterday said that at a meeting of Het Volg at Johannesburg Mr.Smuts urged that the convention at Durban which meets on the 12th instant would afford an opportunity for a most conclusive settlement between Russia and Dutch. It should mean equal rights and a new start, with neither race handicapped. South Africa, he declared ~~x~~ must become one united country. We suppose Mr.Smuts has been

plain enough this time, and he would settle the English question as he would settle the Indian question if he can help it. It remains to be seen what steps the British Government will take in the matter. Just as we go to press we hear that Mr.Ghandhi has been arrested; surely the Indians in Transvaal question is going to assume awfull proportions."

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(b) Courts.

Bail at last.

3. The INDIAN PATRIOT, of the 2nd October, writes:--"The news that bail has been granted to the accused in the Midnapore bomb case, which our Calcutta correspondent wires to-day will be received throughout the country with the greatest satisfaction. The two whose confessions, true or false, were responsible for this terrible tale which kept up Midnapore in the public mind for so long a time, have not been released on bail, and that is perhaps as it should be. Mr.Justice Mitter has once more proved to the world, as he did in company with Justice Fletcher in the Bloomsfield murder case which created so much sensation in India and England, that the Calcutta High Court is the palladium of justice. That so many respectable men, without any evidence whatsoever, should have been shut up in gaol since July last, was unbearable to the public; and the repeated applications for adjournment on the one hand and persistent refusal of bail on the other shook public confidence in the impartiality of justice administered in Midnapore. Meanwhile the lot of the under-trial prisoners in gaol was made public, and that was a state of things which was enough to melt a stone. It made a very deep impression on the public mind that respectable men, without any case made out against them, should be thrown into solitary cells and kept on insufficient food, and subjected to a treatment which they never deserved. If bail should have been refused even now by the Calcutta High Court we do not know what would have been the fate of the accused. Without facilities to have legal aid, and

interviews with pleaders being impossible under the circumstances they would have had nothing but to take fate as it came. Perhaps, as in the case of Arabinda Ghosh, the court might have allowed any of the accused, after a 'careful' search, to interview his counsel in the court room; but a hasty consultation like that would not have served any useful purpose; and delays and calls for adjournment would have been indispensible. By granting them bail Mr.Justice Mitter has done them nothing but the barest justice; and if the Magisterate at Midnapore could proceed with the case promptly, and not make it another Alipore trial, we may look forward to a speedy close of the Midnapore drama."

The case against the MAHRATTA for contempt of court.

4. Criticising the case against the MAHRATTA for contempt of court, the SOUTH INDIAN MAIL, of the 5th October, remarks:--

". . . . The order of the Bombay High Court is unique in point of severity and indefiniteness. The attempt of the said High Court to bring pressure upon conscience is the mediaeval practice of cowing down a person into submission. That Mr.Kelkar does not see his way to apologise is a matter of conscientious scruple. Any attempt to make ~~xxxx~~him false to his conscience reminds us only of the method adopted in the middle ages to bind down conscience. What the end of the matter will be if Mr.Kelkar does not become convinced of that court's order, we cannot forecast. His Majesty, the Secretary of State for India, and the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy give out expressions of genuine sympathy. There is yet what is called the Darjeeling mail case assault. Even some Anglo-Indian papers characterised the said case as one in which there was a failure of justice. In the intensity of its excitement, the present Midnapore sensations out-Herod the Herod of Jamalpore raids. Instances unfortunately are not a few in which punishment on Indians is inflicted before trial. The present Midnapore wailings are intensely of a tragic nature.

We need not spend many words and arguments to say that the Proclamation is only a pen-picture and a word painting. The Trans-

vaal Asiatic question has again assumed an alarming aspect. We are very often treated to harrowing news of oppression to which the handful of white settlers there deliberately subject our countrymen. We have freely quoted in our columns the opinion Mr.L.W. Ritch, the London Agent of our countrymen in the Transvaal, as to how the Imperial Government is unable to vindicate the Indian citizenship. The whole question reduces itself to this. The coloured settlers, either in the Transvaal or elsewhere are a menace to white civilisation and hence the policy of exclusion, restriction, or prohibition of them ought to be a pious white duty; the rights of Indian citizenship there avails him nothing. The policy of the exclusion laws will be to coop up the Indians within the limits of India. Our countrymen there are again to make a heroic self-sacrifice and to repeat the desperate struggle for recovering lost ground. It is not profitable to make a forecast of it. The situation is sufficiently grim."

(k) General.

6. The SOUTH INDIAN MAIL, of the 5th October, writes:--

The Indian Constitution.

"In 1833, the trade monopoly of the East India Company was abolished. Till then it paid its dividends to the shareholders; it drew its tributes. On the 1st of September 1858, the East India Company came to an end. Amid the last struggles of the Mutiny the modern period of Empire began. The Mutiny implied a final breach with the old tradition by which India had been governed in the interests of a corporation of merchants. The LONDON DAILY NEWS, in its issue of September last, takes an impartial estimate of the British administration in India, past and present: 'The memory of the English people has selected in a rather arbitrary way such aspects of its records as we should wish to keep among the traditions of the Imperial race. We remember its incidental achievements in bringing order into chaos of warring races and dying empires. We cherish the memory of individual administrators and soldiers, who worked as Christian men with a single

eye to good of the people whom they ruled. We like to think of Macaulay's achievements in laying the basis of a modern education and a civilised code of law. What we forget, too readily, is that the whole machine was all the while grinding out profits for directors and shareholders at home. Who remembers, for example, that ghastly dispatch in which Warren Hastings, after a famine which had carried off one-third of the population of the people of Bengal, assured the apprehensive ~~had enabled him to send home something more than the firm administration had~~ directors in London that, despite this calamity, a firm administration had enabled him to send home something more than the usual annual tribute? How often do we dwell on the fact that our protective tariffs killed the thriving home industries of India, destroyed in the interests of manufacturers at home the commerce in silks and cottons which had made India the world's loom before our coming, and prepared the poverty of to-day by compelling the peasantry to live by agriculture alone? Were it not for the admissions of official documents, it would seem an incredible legend that torture was in some provinces systematically used to draw from the peasantry the tribute of 50 or even 60 per cent. which we were pleased to levy on their fields.'

"In noticing the defects in the system of rule now in vogue, the DAILY NEWS makes mention of the following:--'The ever--increasing military expenditure, the severity of taxation in relation to the poverty of cultivators, the almost total absence of any Governmental system of elementary education, and the failure to separate the administration of justice from the executive. The root of the inadequacy of this sincere and honest effort to play providence to an alien people, has lain in the fact that the bureaucracy has never acquired an Indian patriotism'. The Indian civilian looks forward, to his furloughs and pensions and thinks of India all the while as 'an excellent place to quit.'

"We have of and on expressed the self-same views in these columns. The approaching November I is quite the occasion to wipe off any kind of reproach against the administration, past and present. The whole Asia is awakening and vast political changes

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are taking place all over the continent. Persia, though not peacefully enjoying the benefits of its recent reformed constitution, is yet firmly convinced of the desirability of the government of a people by the people for the people. The dormant China has shaken off its lethargy and has issued forth an edict for a popular form of Government. Even Afghanistan and Siam are not quiet They are throbbing with the newer impulses and are having their share of analogous changes suited to their circumstances and changes of development. The Mihat Pacha's ideal has now been realised by Turkey.

"Under the aegis of Britain, why should India stand outside the pale? Fifty years have rolled over the land since the grant of the boon of the Proclamation. The Indian Constitution is yet fundamentally autocratic, allowing the people no voice in any manner or degree in the control of their domestic concerns. Fiji is a small distant possession of the Crown in the South Pacefic with a population of 120,124, of whom 2,459 only are Europeans. It is administered by a Governor assisted by an Executive Council, and has a Legislative Council, of ten official members, six elected members, and two native members. The Island of Cypress, with a population of 237,022 souls, is under a British High Commissioner assisted by an Executive and a Legislative Council: the legislature consisting of 18 members, 6 being officeholders and 12 elected 3 by Muhammadans and 9 by non-Muhammadan voters, ~~and 12~~ Ceylon is administered by a Governor assisted by an Executive Council of 5 members and a Legislative Council of 17 members including the members of the Executive Council, 4 other office-holders and 8 non official members , nominated by the Governor as representing the different races and classes in the community. The present Indian Constitution is hardly better or stronger than that of a small Crown Colony. India waits for a large and liberal measure of political change in respect of the general structure of Indian Government equally in respect of the frame work of Indian Administration.

"In India, the supreme authority is vested under the Transfer Act of 1858 in the Governor-General in Council. The Council of

the Governor General at present consists of six ordinary members, besides the Commander-in-Chief, who is an extra-ordinary member. We have as yet no Indian representative in the Executive Council. For legislative purposes, the Council is expanded into a Legislative Council by the appointment of not less than 10 and nor more than 16 persons resident in India as additional members. Of these not fewer than six ought to be officials. The Imperial Government has the right if necessary to require the Governor-General to introduce a measure in his Legislative Council and require also the members of his Government, whether ordinary or additional official members of the Council, to vote for it with the alternative of resigning their seats."

The spirit of Lord Morley's reforms.

7. The MADRAS STANDARD, of the 10th October, writes:--

"Though we are not now in a position to know anything definite or in detail about the contemplated reforms in the methods of administration and government in India, there can be no doubt about the spirit in which Lord Morley has taken up the question. In his speeches,--especially in his recent utterances,--he has let the world understand that his own object is really what the King's Speech foreshadowed about two years ago, namely, the broadening of the basis of peace, order and government in India, which, rightly interpreted, means the carrying out of measures for practically associating the people with the management of their own affairs. Whatever the methods may be the object itself is plain enough. In the draft proposals upon which public opinion was asked there was a shifting of the centre of gravity of which Lord Morley seems not to have been aware. Public criticism has surely done a great deal to adjust the perspective and focus the light. In India itself the responsible officials seem to have realised the fundamental defects of their original scheme, so much so that it is now confidently asserted that the Government of India in their final draft have so modified it as to make

it harmonise with the Indian demands. Whether the modifications adopted by the Government of India are such as will elicit complete public approval or not, Lord Morley himself has not kept us in doubt about his own intentions. In his famous reply to Lord Curzon Lord Morley took that nobleman to task for his implied yet insistent demand for ix deliberately ignoring the claims and aspirations of Indians in dealing with Indian affairs, Lord Morley pointed out that in solving Indian problems Indian demands must be kept prominently in view; and if now both the Government of India and Secretary of State have resolved to modify the original scheme of xxxx reform somewhat on the lines of the criticisms to which it was subjected in India, it is because they are anxious to satisfy legitimate Indian ambition. But it is still possible that fresh mistakes may be committed, which may stand in the way of the attainment of the end in view. It must be borne in mind that the Indian demand is not merely that the highest posts in the land should, in practice, be thrown open to Indians, but that a permanent channel of connection should be established between the Government and the people.

"In England and other countries where free institutions exist and flourish the progress x in the art and methods of rule is steady and continuous, because men outside the permanent officialdom are constantly introduced into high responsible positions and, indeed, they direct the whole policy. An Englishman by his steady and meritorious public services, steadfast public virtues, judgment eloquence, debating talen and wide and extensive knowledge of men, things and institutions may rise to eminence in the House of Commons and, without any previous official training, may suddenly be called upon to occupy one of the highest offices in the State and to work the official machine. The advantages which the country and the public derive from such a system are manifold. In it there is ample room for the new spirit and fresh ideas to show themselves. The official machinery is kept in a state of activity and animation such as would harmonise with the feelings and sentiments outside; so that whatever leaps to light outside, penetrates

and vivifies the official sanctum and regulates the springs of the official machinery. In India, of course, the time is not come for the wholesale introduction of parliamentary Government. But as to what the goal should be there seems to be little or no difference of opinion. If we have understood the teachings of ~~parliamen-~~ Lord Morley correctly and if we have followed the progress of the British policy carefully, there seems to be no doubt that the mission of England in India is to help her people to go forward on the path of civilisation, to stimulate and vitilise their moral and mental energies and so organise the social forces as to enable them to establish themselves as really the centre and pivot of the British Imperial system. So far as the appointment of the Viceroy and that of the Governors of Madras and Bombay are concerned, the British method is adopted. Viceroys and Governors are chosen not from among the Indian officials who have passed through all the various stages of promotion but generally from among British politicians trained in the atmosphere and traditions of British politics--public men whose minds not moving in any official groove, are elastic and receptive enough to take in and absorb new ideas and expand as the fierce light of criticism beats upon them. What India now wants is a broadening of the basis of this policy. Instead of confining the choice of candidates for high offices, which may be open to Indians, to the select official circle, the new policy should make provision for appointing public men of proved calibre, experience, indepenedence, integrity and probity to such high offices. India is yet a land of castes and creeds and sects. But the times are fast changing, and Indians, freely shaking off the trammels of custom, creed and caste, take to foreign travel in increasing numbers and become imbued with that spirit of catholicity and justice and cosmopolitanism which is no necessary in this country to enable an individual to discharge his public duties to the entire satisfaction of all classes and communities. If men, possessing these and other qualifications, show themselves by the extent and quality of their work as public men, or as members of the Legislative

Council of of great public bodies and are available, their claims should be first recognised for high offices where resource initiative, freedom from bias, downright honesty, wide outlook, responsiveness to criticism, and extensive knowledge of men and things are qualities deemed to be necessary. If, for instance, Lord Morley would introduce Indians to the Executive Councils of the Viceroy and the Governors of Madras and Bombay, they should not be officials palsied over with the depressing influences of narrow-minded redtapeism, but independent men of the kind we have ventured to describe. It is such men that can enter into the spirit of the new time and keep peace with modern progress. In British India as heads of departments, and in Native States as chief ministers they would be able to win the peoplex over the side of everything that is stable and progressive. Their co-operationwith the permanent officials will be productive of the most solid and satisfactory results. What is in store for us we do not know. But the policy here outlined seems to us to be a sound one and may well be xb begun first of all, under the auspices of the British Government, by the rulers of Native States, who must make it a point of appointing, as their ministers, not always to be sure, but as often as possible distinguished public men. Responsibility is what makes public life healthy, and if successful public men are invested with a certain amount of responsibility either in the Legislative Council or in some other capacity not only will the methods of rule become progressive, but public life itself will be come more healthy, pure and virile. We are inclined to think that Lord Morley's ideas run on these lines. Whether they will eventually take the shape we so much desireis more than we can vouch for. We have called attention only to one aspect of the question of reform. With the establishment of popular insitxtutions as reflecting public opinion and as nurseries of Indian statesman we propose to deal later on."

VI. MISCELLANEOUS.

The Congress

11. The MUHAMMADAN, of the 5th October, writes:--"The differences which have arisen in the congress party in Southern India on the proposal of holding its next sittings in our city have once ax again brought to the fore the question of Musalman attitude towards that politicah organisation. We have talked over the matter with a pretty large number of Mussalman gentlemen, and so far as we can gauge public opinion we find that the men of light and leading in our midst are, as a class, keenly interested in the fortunes of the Congress, though they are averse to identify themselves with the movement. They subscribe to the great principles on which it is based, though they condemn the methods of agitation and violence which have come to be associated therewith. They believe that the Congress could still be made a great instrument of good and promote the welfare of the people at large, though run as it was in the past, it could hardly accomplish anything but disseminate dissatisfaction. They are glad that the Congress has adopted a constitution which which will save it from falling into the hands of irresponsible damagogues. They see it with pleasure that this constitution is similar to the one which their leaders themselves laid down for their own political organisation, just at the time when the Congress came to grief at Surat and before the news of its break-up was published. With so much sympathy and good will for the Congress, it is to be noticed that our people are not prepared to join in its deliberations. They hold that backward as they are when compared to the great body of their fellow countrymen, it will be suicidal to the cause of their healthy progress, if they allowed themselves to be merged in the bulk of the Indian people. As it is they feel convinced that it will do India more good, if Musalmans worked out their political salvation on a plane different from that of the Congress. They might suffer the same grievances, they might demand the same rights; but having regard to the antecedents of the two sections, they think that, if they belonged to two different political bodies and their views coincided their representations would have greater chance of being success-

ful than they would have otherwise. It is in this light that, in so short a time, the All-India Muslim League has become so popular and influential among all sections of the community. It is for this reason also, we believe, that the more thoughtful leaders of the Congress have welcomed the advent of the new Musalman political association. We hope that the holding of the Congress in our midst will not give rise to any untoward event which may impart its prospects for efficient service on behalf of the people and the Government. To achieve this end it is absolutely necessary that the Congress should close its doors against those utopian philosophers who would end the British Raj. In the present state of unrest in the country, it is no doubt difficult to do this but it has to be done in the interests of order and progress. The Mussalman community will watch with friendly interest the events of the next few weeks. But let this not be mistaken for their willingness to join the Congress. 'One swallow does not make the summer' they say, and the Musalman attitude cannot be determined by the action of one or two individuals among them, who, it may be said in passing, have not, in the past, been quite distinguished for any solid service done to the community. (The Mussalmans of Madras, considered as a whole, accept the lead of the illustrious gentlemen who founded the All-India Muslim League and are quite faithful to the principles which they have laid down for the guidance of the community. And if they have not yet established a local league of their own and if they do not demonstrate their differences with the Congress, it is not owing to their agreement with its ideals, constitution and methods, but to certain well-understood local circumstances which need not here be detailed.")

Loyalist celebration.

13. The MALABAR DAILY NEWS AND THE TRIVANDRUM TELEGRAPH, of the 3rd October, writes:--"While we have had during the past few weeks many striking proofs that the great bulk of the people of Southern India are loyal and while this almost universal prevalence of loyalty

in the Presidency has been testified to by District officers in their Jamabandi reports, there is also ground for the belief that the late Sir T. Madhava Rao's caustic remarks till holds good that between patriotism and poverty there is something more in common than the initial letter P. To meet the expenses of the proposed Loyalist Celebration of the Royal Proclamation, 1858, an appeal was issued by the Provincial Secretary of the Fund for subscriptions more than a fortnight ago, but although there is only a month left for the actual date of the celebration, the response to the appeal has been, to put it bluntly, most shamefully feeble, the latest list to hand showing a total of no more than Rs.642, whereof Rs.100 is made up of a single donation sent in by the Māharaja of Bobbili. Subscriptions have been invited from all over the Presidency, and this fact makes the poor response still more disagreeably conspicuous."

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(b) Courts.

The conviction of Mr.Kelkar.

17. While commenting on the conviction of Mr.Kelkar, the editor, of the MAHRATTA, the DAKSHANA DIPAM, of the 6th October, remarks:--Besides the fine of Rs.1,200 imposed on him, he has been sentenced to 14 days' imprisonment in a criminal jail in addition to this it has been mentioned in the judgment that he would be kept in jail until he pays the fine imposed and also humbly apologises for his conduct. This appears to be a curious judgment. Suppose Mr.Kelkar does not apologise; perhaps he will then have to be in jail for ever. We think law will only allow of his being sentenced to imprisonment in default for a certain definite term and so this punishment that he will have to be in jail until he apologises is, in our opinion, illegal.

(k) General.

The British Government and the Indians.

21. The NYAYABHIMANI, of the 21st September, says:--It is a known fact that the British did not enter India in the beginning with the idea of acquiring sovereignty over it, and that it is only in later years that, actuated by avarice, they took over the Government of the country into their own hands. Even after this, till the death of Queen-Victoria, the Government of India was doubtless conducted with a regard, fear and affection for the country and her people. But King Edward, who succeeded her, has left all the powers of Government in the hands of his Minister, ~~it-is-that-the-Indians-are-now-governed-most-arbitrarily-and most-un~~ Lord Morley, and is touring about like an ordinary man. Therefore, it is that the Indians are now governed most arbitrarily and most unjustly imprisoned and deported. Is it just on the part of the authorities, relying on their physical and military strength, to subject the Indians to so many cruel restrictions? Alas! Our countrymen, are not able to change the despotism that now obtains in India. It is pitiable indeed to see our patriots, editors and preachers being imprisoned promiscuously!

On the same subject the NYAYABHIMANI, of the 24th Septmber, writes:--All the efforts of the Indians to draw the attention of the Government to the facts that the British merchants have despoiled India of every source of income and that her people are therefore starving and being treated as slaves by the whites, have been in vain. Alas! What else can these Indians do? Seeing that there was no use of their complaining against the daylight robbery of the Government in India, the Indians have resolved to prevent at least the payment of large quantities of money for European goods by advising their countrymen to use only goods manufactured in India; because, if this were done, all the money that now goes to foreign countries will remain here and be useful to our people. Even this was only in the stage of preaching and no active attempts were made to adopt this policy. But yet the Feringhee editors and the white merchants began to raise a hue and cry against this, and the Government, which never

paid any attention to the prayers of our countrymen for the last thirty years, was at once moved by the cry of the whites and losing ~~the~~ even the little affection and mercy they had for the Indians, began to tease our people and their leaders most ruthlessly. ~~Every- Indians, began to tease our people and their leaders most ruthlessly.~~ Everywhere it is only cruelty and injustice towards the Indians and this is only increasing every day! But the Government must understand that the deportation of people ~~xxx~~ for their having worked in the cause of SWADESHI will not be effective in ruining this cause.

22. The SATTYAVARTHAMANI, of the 1st October, writes as follows~~xxx~~ in English, about the recent release of Mr.G.Subramnia Aiyar:--

The release of Mr.G.Subramania Aiyar.

"We applaud the Government not only for its generosity but also for its wisdom in this matter. For, Mr.Subramania Aiyar is not only well known to be suffering from an ~~ixxxx~~ incurable disease but he has also a long record of loyalty to Government; and that at times when he met with much opposition from the Hindu community. It is unfortunate that recently he should have been drawn from his wonted sobriety to utter much of what is known to be sedition. We trust that this action of the State in his case will have a good effect upon him and upon the many who sympathize with him."

23. The NYAYABHIMANI, of the ~~2x~~ 1st October, observes:-There are various reasons for our patriots being dissatisfied with the British Government. Even as early as the establishment of the British Government in India, some statesmen had promised that the Indians would be allowed to rule the country themselves as soon as they had acquired the necessary capability for it. Moreover an Act of Parliament in 1833 clearly stated that the Indians should have all the rights and privileges that the Englishmen had. Then again, after the Mutiny of 1857 was issued the Great Proclama-

What is the cause of our dissatisfaction with the British Government?

tion of 1857 which promised equal treatment for the Indians and Englishmen, non-interference with the religion of the Indians and some other advantages. All these things made the Indians anxiously expect the fulfilment of these promises. They even tried to remind the Government of these, now and then. Thus they prayed to the Government, both directly and through the Parliament, that it should give the higher appointments to the educated Indians. But nothing came out of this prayer. So this itself is a grievance to the Indians; for it makes them feel that it is a sign of their slavish dependence. Is there any other country in which the Government ignores its subjects and denies them a share in the Government even after they had acquired the necessary capability for it? They give all high and responsible appointments to the whites, leaving only the lower appointments to the Indians and yet vaunt that 90 per cent. of the appointments in India have been conferred on the Indians. So our people have found out that it is in vain that they have been asking for higher appointments.

All know that the Indian Military expenditure is the chief cause of the impoverishment of India. No doubt, England has to maintain a large force in India, to guard it against her jealous rivals, Russia, Germany, etc. But as England gains enough from the possession of India, she is bound to take the burden of this expenditure upon herself, and so it is merciless on her part to collect this amount from the poor Indians.

Then again, in other countries, a new law will not be passed unless it is thoroughly discussed in a Parliament or other such institution. But the Indians have no such privilege and so the Government here enacts any law it pleases, afflicting our people thereby and also tries to root out our patriots who work on our behalf most disinterestedly.

India and the duty of England.

24. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 6th October, writes:--Last Saturday, Mr. Buchanan, the Under Secretary of State for India, stated in the course of a speech, that it was the duty of England

to try to satisfy the reasonable aspirations of Indians of education and learning, and that justice should be done to the Indian agriculturists by sympathetic and intelligent people. We do not know if these words were uttered with any motive or only formally as so many other statesmen do. There are thousands of Indians with the knowledge and administrative capability that Mr.Buchanan r referred to, and opinions have been expressed for the last 100 years that the legitimate aspirations of these people should be satisfied. We may, in a sense, take these words to indicate that the proposed reforms of Lord Morley will be in accordance with the wishes of the people. We are glad that Mr.Buchanan recognises that the agriculturists do not often get justice done to them. But the present State of affairs will continue for ever unless the relations between the agriculturists and the lower strata of Revenue officials are regulated and the former are treated with justice and sympathy.

26. The ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 30th September, observes:--

Unrest in India.

Many wild stories regarding unrest in India are circulated throughout England by newspapers. They are creating hatred against the Indians by writing that when the military manoeuvres were ordered to be stopped, it was so done to despatch the army to quell the discontent in India, that when the Government ~~engaged them also hired~~ hired certain merchant~~s~~ ships as usual in Liverpool, ~~the~~ Govt. engaged them also besides their own vessels to carry the army to India, that the white men in India sleep with arms on their side (in self-defence) and are in a dangerous position, that it is the duty of the motherland to protect ther children that are in a distant country and that she should be prepared for war. It is for the readers to see how much truth there is in these stories.

27. The SWADESHABIMANI, of the 1st October, observes:--

Military expenditure in India

It was hoped that the recent Anglo-Russian convention would be availed of to lessen the expenditure on the Indian army. But a Commission appointed some time ago to apportion the military charges between England and India was of opinion that an additional 45 lakhs of rupees should be paid by the Government of India as the cost of training British soldiers (In England) for the Indian army; and Mr.Morley has sanctioned the increase. When the military expenditure was already too heavy and unbearable, and the people were urging the reduction of the same and the increase of the allotment for education, it is extremely regrettable that the expenditure on the army should have been further increased. While in the case of all other dependencies of England the Imperial Government pays for their protection, it is the misfortune of the Indians to have meet the expenditure all themselves and that it should be gradually increased. While Mr.Morley had promised to place every reform scheme relating to India before the British Parliament, it is not fair that this increase of expenditure alone should have been sanctioned without the consent of Parliament.

III. LEGISLATION.

Arms Act.

28. Referring to the death of many persons in India from attacks of wild animals, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 30th September, observes:--Since the commencement of the bomb incidents, the Government have been strictly enforcing the provisions of the Arms Act. Even old licenses are not allowed to be renewed. This country has thus become "the field for hunting" for wild beasts also. Robbers who commit dacoities and traitors who perpetrate cruel deeds know many ways and means of securing arms! Then, who are those that are injuriously affected by this hard Arms Act? It is the common people who are innocent and loyal, and who spend their days peacefully in spite of their being subject to

many hardship. It is the chief duty of the Government to relieve them from the grasp of their enemies. It is incitement on the part of the Government to relieve those at least, who live in the frontier parts and forest tracts, by relaxing the rigid provisions of the Arms Act.

VI. MISCELLANEOUS.

The Indians in the Transvaal

30. The SATYAVARTHAMANI, of the 1st October, publishes the following in English on the condition of the Indians in the Transvaal:--"The trouble owing to the presence of Indians in South Africa is still acute. During September, three of the leading Indians have been punished with three months' imprisonment with hard labour for violating the compromise pledges and insisting upon their right to live in that country.

"Indians in the Transvaal send to India begging their brethren to sympathize with them and to petition the British Government to protect their Indian subjects in that part of the empire. There is no doubt but that the curel action of the South African Government against their fellow subjects from India is outrageously unjust; and we think that the British people and the Government should insist upon the right of every member to live in peace and safety in every part of the Empire.

"We believe with Lord Ampthill, in his recent address, that this action of South Africa is utterly unrighteous and in conflict with the integrity of the empire. The rights of the people of this land should be held sacred in all parts of the empire, and the Government should insist upon the Government of South Africa doing justice to the people within their boundaries. They have as much right there as the Boers and the British."

The DAKSHANA DIPAM, of the 6th October, writes:--The inhabitants of this place convened a public meeting some days back and not only expressed their sympathy with the suffering Indian in the Transvaal but also intimated to the Secretary of State for India and his subordinates that the grievances of the

Indians in South Africa must be redressed soon. The Surat District Association recently met and sent a telegram to the Governor of Bombay, praying that steps might be taken to relieve the Indians in the Transvaal from the sufferings they are now undergoing and Sir George Clarke, in his reply, evinced much of sympathy with the Indians in South Africa. But what is the use of even the Viceroy x in this country uttering words of sympathy? It is the Colonial Secretary that must point out to the Colonists that their treatment of the Indians in the Colonies is bringing the name of the British Empire into discredit and insist on their giving better treatment to the Indians there.

Referring to the law relating to the registration of Asiatics in the Transvaal, the SWADESHABIMANI, of the 1st October, observes that seeing that the Colonial Government is so bent upon peeventing the immigration of the Indians xnox into their territories, it is imperative on the Government of India to pass a law prohibiting the immigration of the Transvaalers into India, and hopes that His Excellency the Xiexox Viceroy will place the question before the British Government.

32. The DESABHIMANI, of the 30th September, writes in English as follows:--"Everybody interested in the welfare of the Indians in the Transvaal haxd had, after the last 'compromise', laid the flattering unction to his heart that the unfortunate tension between them and the Transvaal Government had come to an end. But this was not to be. The compromise has failed and the old troubles of our brethren have revived and the relief and gratification that we felt at the last settlement have been but transitory, and have met with a rule shock now. What was the cause of this failure and who is to blame for it? Opinions are divided. The Johannesburgh correspondent to the TIMES XXX asserts in effect that the bone of contention between the Indians and the Government of the Transvaal was not the obnoxious regulations about fingerprints though they are put forward by the Indians as the ostensible

Our brethren in the Transvaal

ground of their complaint, but the desire to secure to them equal rights and privileges with the European residents and that the Indian immigration into that country should be absolutely unrestricted. But Lord Ampthill, our late 'people's Governor' and the sturdy champion of the oppressed Indians, successfully combats this view in his letter of 9th September published in the same journal.

"On the question of the cause of the failure of the 'compromise', Lord Ampthill is equally pointed and convincing. He says, 'the "compromise" was an agreement to the effect that the Asiatic Registration Law would be repealed if the Indians submitted voluntarily to re-registeration. The Indians at once fulfilled their part of this compact, but the Registration Law has not yet been repealed. . . . . . It is true that the General Smutts denies that he promised repeal, but it is equally certain that the Indians would not have made the agreement except on that understanding and the least that can be said is that they had ample reasons to feel sure that repeal had been promised. The additional price which is now asked for repeal is that the Indians in the Transvaal are to agree to the total exclusion of natives of India in the future. . . . . .'. Thus the whole question lies in this nutshell, the total exclusion and the eventful extinction of the Transvaal Indians.

"In the face of such a deplorable state of things, is it impossible to resist the conclusion that the grant of self-government to the Transvaal, so soon after the Boer war, was ill-advised, and Lord Ampthill is perfectly justified in his remark that 'nothing is more likely to conduce to a belief in ~~the~~ this country (we must say, more so in India) that the Transvaal is not fit for self-government than a persistence of the great neglects to recognise Imperial duty and necessity for which the politicians in that colony seem to be culpable.' We are, therefore, sincerely of opinion that the Imperial Government could no longer shut their eyes to this deplorable condition of their Indian subjects, but must step in in the ~~the~~ interests of its own prestige and dignity as well of its duty to Indian subjects to teach the Transvaal Government its duty to the Empire to whose magnanimity no less than to its sense of fair play that Government owes its present lease of independent life."

35. The HINDU KESARI, of the 30th September (received on the 6th October) writes as follows:--

Our misfortune.

Since the advent of the Dutch and the Honourable the East India Company into India ~~other~~ Exxopxanxxoux for trade, all the cotton of our country has been exported to England and other European countries, and it has been the cause of our country being afflicted with famine. It is by our cotton that the English had an opportunity to manufacture cloths sell the same in our country and spoil our trades. If we had unitedly taken interest in our native country, we ourselves would have derived large profit from the cotton grown in our country. If we had established mills and woven different sorts of cloth and improved the trade ~~established mills and woven different sorts of cloth and improved the trade~~ in cotton goods we would not have been reduced to this miserable condition. If we ourselves had used the cotton of our country and not allowed it to be taken by foreingners, their cotton trade would have dwindled into nothing. Everywhere in England, the houses were full of articles made in our country. As the nice cloths of our country were used to a large extent in London and other places, the trade in wool in England ceased. The English by buying our nice and dear articles lost their money and became reduced to a miserable condition. Then the rulers of England passed an Act in 1700, prohibiting the English people from buying the Indian articles for their use. They then imposed a duty on goods imported from our country and enhanced it afterwards. Even then, our people were not six wise, but sent cloths ox to foreign countries paying high duties, without improving the trade in cloths in our country itself. In these circumstances, Manchester which took cotton from our country and wove cloths out of it became prosperous.

36. Referring to the news that this year the CONGRESS will be held at Madras, the SWADESHABIMANI, of the 1st October, observes:-

The coming Congress.

The relation between the several parties among the Congress leaders

have not improved since the fiasco of last year at Surat. Government has lost confidence in the people owing to the deplorable bomb outrages, and the people have at the same time begun to lose confidence in Government on account of the prosecution and conviction of Tilak, Chidambaram Pillai and others, and also owing to the repressive policy now pursued by Government. In Bengal and Bombay the discontent is too great for people to heartily take part in the Congress. Besides the famine has not completely disappeared. The conflict between the Extremists and the Moderates is not over. It is, therefore, the opinion of some people that the Congress ought not to be held at all this year. Others urge that this year the Congress should be held in England with a view to impress on the minds of the British public the grievances of the Indian people particularly at a time when Mr.Morley is contemplating reforms in the administration. The Congress, before it can be called "National", must represent all parties and creeds. All lovers of the country whether Moderates or Extremists should unite together; or, we shall be ruining ourselves. If conciliation is not possible, it would be well to put off the meeting of the Congress rather than hold different Congresses representing opposite parties.

The Proclamation Day.

37. Referring to the news that several leaders of the Madras public including Sri S. Subramanya Aiyar and Diwan Bahadur Krishnáswamy Rao are arranging for the celebration of the 50th Anniversary of the Queen's Proclamation, the SWADESHABHIMANI, of the 1st October, remarks that the idea is highly commendable because it serves to remind the people about the privileges they were granted by the proclamation and also to recall to the mind of the authorities ~~granted by the pro~~ the liberal and sympathetic policy pursued in those days. It will also give the British people an occasion to understand that the loyalty of the Indians is as staunch as ever and what they at present urge is merely the redress of their grievances.

The causes of poverty of India

39. ~~The~~ A correspondent in the BHARATA BANDU, of the 26th September, says that every one who has an accurate knowledge of the real state of India will admit that India is one of the poorest countries of the world. According to the computation of eminent economists the average annual income of an Indian is Rs.20--a sum admittedly insufficient to meet the bare necessaries of a human being. The ever-recurring severe famines affecting a large portion of the entire population also show the utter destitution in which we are sunk. Agriculture is the chief industry of India, and in order to derive any benefit out of it the land revenue should be moderate. But in India the high rate of assessment is ever being increased by new settlements, and during the ten years from 1887 to 1897 the revenue has increased by fifty lakhs of sovereigns. There were no wars or other special events demanding great expenses during this period. In all other countries during peaceful times the surplus revenue is usually remitted to the people, but in India, on the other hand, the heavy assessment is being continuously enhanced and this is the prime cause of the indigence of the poorly classes of Indians. Another cause is the exorbitant military expenditure which consumes exactly half of the entire revenue, It is not to be dreamt that the mild and disarmed Indians are ever going to revolt nor is there any chance of any foreigners invading India. So the large military force is maintained at such a high cost not for the protection of India alone but of the whole British Empire and it is but fair that the British nation also should contribute its share to defray it. Another reason is that all the high offices are filled by Englishmen who are paid five or six times more than the Indians and who do not spend their money in India. In the opinion of many eminent men among our rulers, Indians are ~~the~~ as competent as Englishmen and it is bare justice that they should be more largely associated with the administration than at present. In 1898 nearly 140 lakhs of sovereigns were disbursed as pay to European officials in India. The destruction of our renowned industries is yet another~~x~~ important cause

that tends to increase our poverty. Agriculture is a precarious occupation depending on the rainfall and so in order to improve the state of India our old industries ought to direct their energy in that direction.

For the week ending 17th October 1908.

No. 42 of 1908.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY NATIVES.

I. FOREIGN POLITICS.

The Race Problem in the Transvaal

2. The WEST COAST SPECTATOR, of the 10th October, remarks:- "The Indian question in the Transvaal has reached a very critical stage, and it has opened the eyes of a small section of English men to the very dangerous waters into which the English nation is drifting over the race problem. We do not assert that there is no REAL statesmanship in England to solve the problem. But as responsible statesmen the Premier and his colleagues with the phenomena of imperial problems ever in direct contact ~~colleagues with-the~~ with their political sensitiveness, should be prompt ~~xxxx~~ to localise and kill the germs of disease that threaten to eat into the organism of the Empire. We will not do them the injustice to say that they are witnessing the scenes that ~~will-not-do-them-the-in~~ are now being enacted in the Transvaal and for the matter of that in the British Colonies, with perfect SANG FROID. We admit that the English Government is now standing on delicate ground; that it is between the Scylla of Colonial prejudice and the Charibdis of Indian rights as citizens of the Empire; and that it is perplexed and anxious. We can excuse perplexity and anxiety in the ordinary man, in the man who is not directly feeling the burden of the Empire. But we cannot excuse these conditions of mind in those who are supposed to be the pillars of the Empire. We expect from them solid action, and not to dally with events. The anti-Asiatic legislations in the Transvaal have needlessly hurt the feelings of Indians of all shades of opinions, and even the staunchest admirer of the school

of Kipling shoudd admit that we are justified in the intensity of the indignation which the Transvaal authorities have aroused in us. We have begun to question whether the boast of Empire citizenship is a reality or a humbug. Englishmen should clear our doubts in this respect. If, it is a mere humbug the sooner we are informed that it is so, the better. If, on the other hand, the boast is founded on facts, the English nation should stand manfully by it at any cost. No useful purpose can be served by evading the points at issue. English diplomacy and character have a tendency to look with horror upon things that demand the stripping off the gloss and tinsel that cover their national fetishes. That being so, language is used by the diplomat as a convenient means of concealing his thought and protecting his fetish. At present the Transvaal question is in the hands of the diplomats. These are doing everything in their power to explain away the question, just as certain people have tried to explain away the Queen's Proclamation, But the lay man is inexorable. He is a little thick-headed and wants plain speaking and plain statement of objects and reasons, and he has a heart. The protests of Indian ex-soldiers, and their demand to be shot dead in one of the battle-fields where they had fought, side by side with the English soldier, to uphold the dignity and power of Britain, are enough to bring the blush to the cheeks of honest Englishmen whose political vision can pierce outside the limits of Imperialistic conventions: and whose hearts can feel for the sufferings of others.

The Transvaal situation.

4. The HINDU, of the 13th October, contains the following leader:--"The situation in the Transvaal is getting more and more disquieting, and the Government of the Transvaal are running their wild career of unfeeling obstinacy, which, combined with the inaction of the Imperial Government, threatens to sow in Indians the seeds of distrust in the sense of British justice. The latest information regarding the crisis is that Mr.Gandhi and five other Indians have been arrested on their return from

Natal. ~~Bil~~ Bail has been refused and they are now in ~~xxx~~ gaol. A telegram from Natal to the Madras Mahajana Sabha which we published yesterday appeals to India for help. Meetings have been held throughout India regarding the unjust and cruel treatment to which the Indians are subjected there, and the Government of India have answered that the question is under consideration. But the latest pronouncement on the subject by Colonel Seeley is not reassuring. Speaking at Liverpool recently, he is reported to have said that it was unfair of Home landers to cavil at self-governing Colonies imposing restrictions on aliens which they considered essential. He further said that either aliens must be admitted free or not at all. We do not know whether in speaking in this manner Colonel Seeley had the specific grievances of the British Indians in~~x~~ his mind. The question most certainly is not whether the Indians should have unrestricted right of immigration. They have never claimed any such right, and it is confusing the question at issue to theorise about the supposed rights of the whites in South Africa. What our countrymen have ~~xx~~ been demanding is insurance against their voluntary suicide in Transvaal which would be the case if they are to be denied the sparse privilege of adding to the population every year Indian professionals, such as doctors, barristers, religious heads~~x~~ etc. About the end of last month, when negotiations, which ended in mere smoke, were in progress, the Indians pressed this claim which was summarily refused by the Government. Nobody has put the case for the British Indians more clearly, strongly and with a greater sense ~~x for the British Indians more clearly~~ of responsibility than Lord Ampthill whose third letter to the London TIMES on this vexed problem we publish elsewhere. The points of variance are as Lord Ampthill points out, two in number. The first is regarding the registration of Asiatics. We have already referred to the whole question of how, by the compromise effected in January last, the Government promised to repeal the Asiatic Registration Act if all the Asiatics, within a specified time voluntarily registered themselves; of how, when this was done, the Government sought to go back on their pledge by the ingenious device of

enacting a law by which these registrations were validated under the Asiatic Registration Act which the Asiatics thought had been once for all consigned to oblivion. We have also pointed out how, by various climbings-down, the Government of the Transvaal attempted to evade the real question by consenting to repeal the Act if the Asiatics pledged themselves to submit to new conditions, such as the absolute restriction of any Asiatics into the Transvaal in future, the fixing of an arbitrary ~~register themselves-taxx-etc.--The~~ time within which the pre-war British Indians in the Transvaal had to register themselves, etc. The subsequent story of the denial of any undertaking to repeal the Act, the burning of the certificates of registration and the wholesale imprisonments and deportations are all now well-known. So, then, the question of registration is still unsettled and pending, though the Transvaal Government, in its questionable wisdom, is taking action under the Act. The second question of importance is that of immigration. The Immigrants Registration Act has been interpreted by Courts in favour of the Indians, giving them, as Lord Ampthill puts it, the liberty to maintain the healthy existence of the Indian community by the occasional importation of the priests, doctors and lawyers. But this right has been, as already mentioned, attempted to be ignored by the proposal of General Smuts to repeal the Registration Act if the British Indian community consent to an alteration of the Registration Act prohibiting the entry of all Indians in future. This has been indignantly refused by the British Indians, and the immigration problem also has to be faced. Sir Richard Solomon, in making feeble efforts to paint the Indians in the darkest possible colours, complains bitterly, in one of his letters to the TIMES, about the Indians breaking the law. But what are the laws which the Indians erroneously are supposed to frustrate? The whites in the Transvaal will not see that the very lives of the British Indians are involved in this affair, and that they are determined to stand firm till justice is done to them. The Imperial Government is in a predicament which is

unenviable. They do not feel strong enough to resist the Transvaal Government and have not the courage or the manliness to do the barest justice to British Indians. As Sir M.M. Bhownaggree said in proposing the toast of the King-Emperor at a dinner of the Parsi Association of Europe:--'It was only natural that many millions of his docile and loyal subjects in India should now look to His Majesty to exert his personal influence to remove the indignities and hardship which were being inflicted upon them by another ~~xx~~ small section of his subjects, and so restore peace between the outlying portions of his dominions. It was on such firm faith that the devotion and loyalty of the people of India to their Sovereign's person and Throne were based, and he asked them to honour the toast with enthusiasm."

6. The INDIAN PATRIOT, of the 16th October, writes:--

Transvaal scandal.

"Among our foreign telegrams to-day will be found a sensational telegram from South Africa. Mr.Gandhi is sentenced to two months' hard labour and fifty-four Indians to three months' hard labour--we know for what. It is because they want to be men and would honour their conscience. This is atrocious indeed, but there is no use of saying all that. We are tired of this Indians in Transvaal question as much as the Imperial Government is evidently tired of our articles and protests and telegrams and letters to the editor and all that. There is no use of all that. ~~It is good that they all go to the editor and all that. There is no use of all that.~~ It is good that they all go to jail in South Africa to be worked to death rather than barter their independence for slavery. So far the Imperial Government has not moved and is not going evidently to move. And a 'united South Africa' is on the anvil as we all know. We can only let fall a tear for our countrymen--and a tear for helpless England. There is no glory at all in being called a 'British subject.' It is painful to know that, ~~and yet~~ but that is the truth. Unless ~~they~~

the Imperial Government directly intervene ~~in putting~~ and ~~/~~ put a stop to such a scandalous punishment, we fear we shall be justified in putting the worst construction on its inactivity.
If ever there was a necessity to speak out this is the time when Mr.Gandhi, the veteran of a hundred fights, is down again for two months; and if Lord Morley is going to preserve his stolid silence as he has done all the while, we will take it that the Imperial Government endorses all these brutal punishments and that will pluck away the best feather from the crown of Britain's glory--her sense of justice. 'All beseech India to resent such treatment in public meetings all over Gandhi and others are breaking stones on the roads.' Such is the cry that the Transvaal Indians have made to-day to the Madras Mahajana Sabha, and we have no doubt that India will wake up as one man.
The picture of Mr.Gandhi breaking stones on the road is too touching, and many a heart would revolt at it. The Transvaal Government is lashing us all into fury, and when the whole India appeal to Lord Morley, and all the South African Indians look up to the Imperial Government, we will have to be told whether we may expect anything at all from that quarter. The sooner we ~~kmw~~ know it better, for then we may meet the fate as it comes and not pause hoping for help which never comes, but which we cannot help counting on our side."

The MADRAS STANDARD, of the 17th October, remarks:--"The Boer Government in the Transvaal is determined to drive out Indians from that British colony. Reuter has already cabled to us the news about the arrest and imprisonment of Mr.Gandhi. The Mahajana Sabha has received the following message from Durban under date the 15th instant:--'Gandhi two months, thirteen others six weeks Sorabji and Ajam twice imprisoned twice deported deportation exchanged for imprisonment rightly returning sentenced six months' fifty-eight others deported re-entering three months' hard labour all beseech India resent such treatment in public meetings all over Gandhi and others breaking stones on roads Congress. This requires no comment. It has come to this, that Mr. Gandhi, and other respected Indians are now subject to the

rigours of a prison life and made to break stones, in open daylight on the public road, not because they have been guilty of any crime but because of their colour. What India wants to know is whether the Imperial Government can offer no solution, give no protection to British Indian subjects, whether the Boers would be allowed to drag Indians through the mire and filth of servitude in this outrageous fashion. The problem has assumed the most active stage imaginable."

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) General.

War with students.

9. The INDIAN PATRIOT, of the 12th October, remarks:--The Bombay Government have out-Risleyed Risley. From a telegram that we publish elsewhere it will be found that the Bombay students are dangerous young men and are to be cabinned, cribbed and confined. Masters are lacking in firmness; students are lacking in discipline; parents are lacking in common sense; in fact something has 'snapped' in our Western presidency and things are fast going down. The schoolmaster does not realise his responsibility and he has to be taught that; the pupil has become disobedient and unprincipled and he has to be driven inside the fold; parents have forgotten that they have any interest at all in their children and they have to be told of that. That is a terrible state of confusion, and our only wonder is that Bombay has escaped a terrible fate for so long a time. We have as yet heard of no bomb den in Bombay; no teachers of pandits carrying YUGANTAR with them; no students going bare-footed to honour Khudiram. That was all in Bengal. But any way it is good; a remarkable find has been made in time; and the seven conditions that Sir G. Clarke lays down for the guidance of the teachers and pupils of his Presidency; if strictly adhered to, will surely knock out sedition and disorderliness on the part of the students and indifference on the part of teachers and parents. Perhaps the solicitude for Indian students lately discovered in the India Office in London

has spread itself to Bombay; it will be well if it stops there. We, in Madras, at any rate, are living amidst more peaceful circumstances and do not want the Bombay Government's seven conditions to lead us right and bring us unto 'man'.

"No human insititution is perfect, and the Educational Department is no exception to this rule. That being so, the placing of so much power in Inspection officers who can, from a 'surprise visit,' nail down a school to the earth by an unfavourable report, is not calculated to encourage private ~~the~~ educational institutions! We have nothing but admiration for the first five conditions which Sir G.Clarke lays down. They are eminently just and have nothing new or novel about them. They are always expected to prevail; and if they do not prevail they ought to be enforced. But the question is how are they to be enforced! There is a good deal in that, and ~~question is how are they to be prevail they ought to be enforced. But the question~~ much as we would like to see those five conditions prevailing, we would suggest that where luxity is seen, no attempt should be made to strangel the institution. Sufficient time ought to be given; sufficient opportunities ought to be afforded. We do not believe that there are any schools where strict obedience is not enforced or disobedience not punished, or politeness and courtesy not inculcated. Nobody tolerates any student coming in particularly dirty dress; his neighbours will pull him out of the class without the teacher's intervention. And if an Inspector, in a 'surprise visit', should find a hole anywhere, and as an Inspector he will see that he finds some, and if Government should withdraw its aid or harass institutions, private enterprise would withdraw from the field. To say that in their anxiety for 'number' ~~would~~ of pupils any private school management would tolerate disobedience or take in a disreputable boy expelled from any other school is to cast an unmerited slur on them.

The only conditions we would like had been absent from Sir G.Clarke's list are those relating to newspapers and public meetings; and we would wish them absent, not because we are of opinion that students should read every newspaper and

attend every public meeting, but that no hard-and-fast rules ought to be laid down in that respect. They will restrain the independence of a student in the first place; and they will make his position akin to that of a suspected person, so very different from the freedom we generally associate with a student's life. Any story might be spread; the school master might take action upon it, and a student might be visited with punishment. That ought never be the case with young men who ought to have that freedom which would allow an unstunted growth Teachers ought to tell them what they should do or should not do, and may remonstrate with them too, as they do now, when they find students reading a novel they ought not to read. But that a student should be dismissed or expelled because he reads a forbidden newspaper or attends a forbidden meeting is monstrous. A good deal lies in the power and personality of the teacher; a good deal in that of the parents too; and ordinarily, when both these influences are brought to bear upon him the young man never goes astray; ~~a good deal in that of the parents too;~~ and if he does he is only one in a thousand and you cannot help it. The world has never been perfect and no one need attempt to make it now. And then the problem has yet to be solved whether the world going as it goes now, students could ever be kept outside politics, whether such a thing is possible at all; and if it is not possible, whether it is not safe and expedient to give them a regular course of instruction in politics to enable them to take a right course. In the face of this growing opinion, the stringent rules of the Bombay Government will not be welcome. The most curious portion of the whole affair is the mighty flourish over the innocent primary schoolmaster in his solitude. It will be a long time ~~over the innocent primary~~ before he understands the threat; and once he has understood it he will sink down beneath its weight. There is an air of humour in it."

10. The INDIAN PATRIOT, of the 17th October, writes:--

Political views in India.

"According to our Simla correspondent the council reform proposals of the Government of India were to have reached the hands of the Secretary of State yesterday. What their nature and scope are we do not know, and will perhaps not know until they have been considered and put in a fit form for presentation to Parliament According to Sir William Wedderburn, who pointed out the three stages in which the scheme might undergo changes, the Secretary of State may, instead of absolutely accepting the Government of India's proposals, make his own changes therein. In the meantime various conjectures have been made, both as to the nature of the reform and as to the time when it will be matured. One Anglo-Indian journal of Calcutta, which represents the Tory principles in Indian administration, has put forth a forecast which must be highly discouraging to Indians, while another, which is an exponent of the progressive spirit, has presented us with a hopeful prospect of the enlargement of the rights and liberties of the people. We do not venture x x to judge between the two, between the wish which is the father of a bigot's thought and the anticipation which is based upon an intelligent understanding of the aims and tendencies of the present Government. The future alone will show what we are to get as the result of more than two years' generous intentions on the part of the Government and of anxious expectations on the part of the people. A variety of opinions will, in the meantime, force themselves into the counsels of Government, and deep-rooted prejudices also will not be wanting to interfere with the final conclusions of authority. The same division that we find in India will be emphasised in England by the respective representatives of the two schools which make up our political parties on the main question of Indian reform. These parties respectively represent what in England are called the Tory and the Liberal faiths. The Tory stands for authority and antiquity, the Liberal for liberty and progress. In India, the vast majority of Englishmen are Tories, while most Indians are Liberals. The former want authority; ~~the~~

the latter desire liberty.

"In the final settlement of reform the differences between these two schools have to be adjusted, if they cannot be altogether reconeiled. Without the support of Anglo-Indian official opinion, we do not expect any important change to be effected in the machinery of the Indian Government, notwithstanding the dominating influence of a Liberal Government. What the degree of that support may be we must wait to see. Lord Morley alone, or even the Cabinet as a whole, will not take the responsibility of forcing any radical reform in the Indian administration. Whatever liberal measures the executive Government in India recommend, the Home Government may adopt without hesitation; and probably in some non-essentials they may put in something of their own to make it more liberal. The only thing that we can be certain about is that there will be an enlargement of the Councils, and some little addition to their powers. Both these have been proposed by the Government of India; and they could not have gone back on those proposals. The principle being so far accepted, it may be possible for His Majesty's Government to determine in accordance with Indian expectation those details which may fall within the scope of the accepted principle; and this we may hope that they will not be reluctant to do. So far as the scheme has been known, Anglo-Indian opinion has not expressed disapproval; on the other hand, the bulk of the Anglo-Indian public has taken a decidedly generous attitude, has acknowledged the justice and necessity and wisdom of a generous response to Indian demands as urged by the moderate school of Indian politicians. That a step in advance has to be taken is widely admitted, and it will not provoke controversy hereafter. There has, indeed, been a faint protest in some quarters against the inauguration of reforms at a time when the country has presented instances of disorder and violence. But these disorders and violence have been mere ripples on the surface, and have not affected any considerable section of people anywhere. This is understood by all discerning men, and hence the objection has not assumed more than the form of a suggestion.

"But what view will be taken, and what attitude will be assumed when the scheme is published with all its varied details, can at best be a matter of surmise. There are Extremists among Anglo-Indians as there are Extremists among Indians, and the former, who do not want anything but the old order of absolute, authority on the one side and abject obedience on the other, will not welcome any change which interferes with the old arrangement. These will surely urge every conceivable objection to any and every real reform. But even disregarding them as a negligible quantity, there will yet remain a substantial force to be reckoned with. Any sharp division between this and moderate Indian opinion will be regrettable. Is the first place, it will not smoothen the course of reform. In the next place, their mutual antagonism may unhappily result in an estrangement of feeling which it is the aim of the reform to prevent. The gift, if it is to be accepted as a gift, must be generous; it must be wholehearted; and if Indians and Anglo-Indians will jointly welcome it as being for the good of both, there cannot be a happier consummation. But such a consummation will be possible only if the dominant community acknowledge the principle of self-government as a necessary and inevitable end of Indian political progress, as the only solution of the problem of race. The advance may be slow, but it must be real and steady. There must be nothing in it to frustrate the evolution of a common political community out of all the varied races and creeds that inhabit India and are citizens of the Empire. A common political sense must dominate every class. A common political ideal must be the aim of everybody. That alone will ensure a common loyalty and devotion which is what the Empire needs and what intelligent Indians seek."

11. The INDIAN PATRIOT, of the 17th October, writes:--"The solemn celebration of the partition ~~celebration of the partition~~ day, which was observed throughout the City of Calcutta yesterday, is full of significance. It was a day when the people recollected with deep ~~chargr~~ chagrin and despair, how all their protests were brushed aside and an obnoxious order executed. It was humiliating to them that, as responsible citizens, educated and enterprising, they were ignored by an obstinate Government. They were rudely awakened to the fact that after all they were nothing, that whether they protested or praised, the Government went on as ~~xxxpx~~ ever. To a nation, just beginning to realise its national consciousness, such a procedure on the part of the rulers was a rude shock; and the Bengalees felt that they had been treated in a way which they never deserved. ~~Nehn~~ When yesterday, therefore, they refused to break their fast, and when, with bare foot, every man and woman and child bathed in the Ganges and joined in a procession and trudged home in silence, it was not a people breaking the monotony of life by 'change', but a nation mourning over an incident which happened that day some years ago. When, with a stomach that craves for food and a foot that is sore for want of shoe, the Bangalee kneels down or bares his head and takes the SWADESHI vow, a vow to serve his country, he is not doing a thing which he forgets after doing it. No one called upon him to do so except his own heart, and he is not likely to slight the call of his own heart. Impelled by one impulse, spontaneously rising above the ordinary course of life, a whole people resolve to go into mourning, and this, not because their religion enjoins it, but, with one heart and one soul, they all feel the great wrong done to them by the partition.

A nation in mourning.

"The Bengalees do not look upon the Government with suspicion or dislike when they observe this self-imposed and soul-stirring solemn ceremony. They only recollect and remind each other how, once upon a time, when they all cried against a particular action, the Government treated them as of no concern and acted up to its resolution in spite of them; and how, for

their own sake and for the sake of a country which they called and loved as their own, but which was administered without regard for their wish, they must do something themselves by way of self-protection. There is nothing in this that is unpalatable to the Government, except that one of their acts is looked upon with so much dislike by a people; but if the Government would recollect, as the people recollect, how much opposition there was from the beginning; and they need not have any surprise at the ceremony that the people celebrate; and a Government ought to be proud of a people who show so much spirit and so much sensitiveness. It must respect their sorrow. It must respect the deep sense of humiliation that they feel; and these signs of mourning ought never to be looked upon with intolerance or suspicion.

"And yet the Bengal Government is doing this. On a particular day, when the people recollect how high handed their Government was, it is showing that it can be highhanded still. The Government prohibits meetings and the necessity to unburden their hearts in a large meeting and take the great vow before one another. The Government prohibits the carrying of lathies and thus tell them that it does not have any faith in their peaceful intention; it augments the police to guard public places as if the people were a set of vagabonds who would, at the first opportunity, take to looting and hooliganism. This is an affront to the great Bengali leaders who are behind this movement and who personally went to the Police authorities and to the Lieutenant-Governor to have these obnoxious orders revoked. This is an affront to the people who are heavy of heart and who have taken upon themselves to observe mourning. But ~~they~~ when in addtion to this, the police persist in putting troubles in the way, when they 'proclaim' a particular place they did not proclaim before, simply because the leaders chose that place, the Government make no secret of their displeasure at this mourning of a nation over a national grievance; and this attitude of the Government will only add to the feeling which the Bengalees exhibited yesterday when they tied the holy rakhi on each other's hand, and most solemnly and sincerely observed the day of mourning and took the SWAD SHI and boycott vow."

12. The INDIAN PATRIOT, of the 17th October, writes:--"Sir Henry Cotton asked the question at last in Parliament yesterday, how the Army Council could explain the additional charge imposed on India, and the Financial Secretary of the Army Council has explained it. He said, as we all knew he would say, that the decision was the result partly of the report of the Romer Committee and partly of a discussion between Lord Morley and Mr. Haldane. The chief grounds for the increase were that the training period on which the charge had hitherto been calculated was inadequate, that the pay of the soldiers had been raised, and that the number of drafts and reliefs had been increased. Dr. Rutherford asked whether the report of the Committee would be laid on the table, and he was told that it would not be laid. That too was not unexpected, and there the whole affair ended. The 'question in Parliament', upon which so much was depended, has been asked, wired, read and forgotten; and India will have to pay more, never mind her famine or famished people. It was all settled long ago, of course; only we hoped that in Parliament they would be more straightforward in speech, and say, as Lord Salisbury said, 'we cannot help it. India must be bled.' There is honesty in such expression, and we always like honesty, even in statesmen. Why all this babble about increase in the training period, inadequate calculations, raising of the soldiers' pay, multiplicity in the number of drafts and reliefs and all that? What on earth have we to do with all this? In fact many of us could not understand all this, except that Haldane is at one of his mad-cap schemes, that he wants his 'territorials' and 'reserves' and for these he wants money, that he could not get money in England where they would make short work of him in these days of declining trade and depressing income, and therefore the Army Council turned roud to India, where it is all clear sailing. A simple question and a simple answer--'Well, Lord Morley, we want some money'; 'Oh! yes, you can have it by all means.' Everything is

Bleeding India.

over. Who is to suffer? It is only the Indian ryot or the artisan--but who cares for him? This is an admirable method of governing a huge continent like India, but then the English people are famous men, and have invented many things, and this method of administration is one of them. One could not help admiring it, if only they would say honestly: 'This is the way we mean to govern you.' But instead of this if they go about and talk about increased drafts and inadequate salary, you could not understand what they MEAN, although there is no mistaking what they DO."

VI. MISCELLANEOUS.

16. The MALABAR DAILY NEWS AND THE TRIVANDRUM TELEGRAPH, of the 8th October, writes:--

The Congress situation.

". . . . . Broadly classified, there are at present two political parties in India. One of these parties demands nothing short of absolute national independence and does not hesitate to say, or at least to insinuate, that revolution is the only road to this goal. The other party recognises that progress would not be possible without the present Government and that the overthrow of this Government, admitting this were possible, would only lead to terrible chaos all over the country. Not only does the demand of the former party represent the supremest political unwisdom, but it must also be stigmatised as a blind and perverse attempt to perpetrate race suicide. The Government has the power to raise the political status of the people, but it is also sufficiently powerful to suppress any revolutionary or insurrectionary rising that might occur. Its might has sufficed to protect this dependency from foreign invasion, and it will more than suffice to crush any internal disorder that could be conceived of. If the steps it has taken to quell such little disturbances as have occurred, have seemed to be inadequate, that must be ascribed not to weakness, but to reluctance to use a giant's power like a giant. What is best for this country is that its people should not drive the Government

to withdraw from its avowed intention of furthering political development and associating the people more largely with the administration of their own affairs. That political party which recognises that British rule is indispensable to national progress should endeavour above everything else to break the back of the sinister and insane movement which makes not towards progress but towards disruption and misrule. It was unfortunate that the Madras Mahajana Sabha decided some weeks ago not to hold the Provincial Conference, and it would have been several times more unfortunate if the attempt to hold the next Session of the Congress had been frustrated by the action of men, several of whom, it is now apparent, were unconsciously playing into the hands of the party of reaction. Constitutional political agitation has for some time suffered from a paralytic stroke delivered at it by the forces of anarchy, and the longer efforts are postponed to recover from this stroke, the stronger will be the malign influence already wielded by the enemies of order and progress. Perhaps, for a little time, it was necessary that constitutional political activity should be altogether suspended, but inaction is no longer advisable. It is happily evident that the anarchist movement is losing its vitality, and if constitutional politicians do not now rally their forces, they would lose all the advantage they have gained. More than this, they would perhaps compel the Government to recall its pledge and to postpone indefinitely the important reforms which have already been practically decided upon. The reply of the Provincial Congress Committee to the protest has shown that the objections raised to the holding of the Congress in Madras were more fanciful than real and if those who issued the protest still hold aloof, the only conclusion that can be drawn is that political cussedness is more prevalent at the present moment than political ~~cussedness-is-more-p~~ sobriety and foresight. Two Sessions of the Congress were miserably wrecked, and it would be a long farewell perhaps to constitutional political activity were there to be no Session at all this year. This is not the time when political leaders should look merely for a great numerical attendance at a

Congress Session. The main point is that the Congress should resolutely rehabilitate itself, and this can be accomplished even if the Session were to be attended only by a small number. If the attendance be select and if the work of the Session be carried out on constitutional lines, that would be ample. Moreover, there could be no more fitting opportunity for the Congress to purge itself of the Extremist element. The Constitution quite provides for this, and even should individuals of the Extremist party smuggle themselves in, they would either have to respect the creed or render themselves liable to be dealt with by the 'chucker-out'. At Surat, the Extremists were in position to do much mischief, but under the new Constitution, they will find that disorderly behaviour will admit of being promptly and effectively dealt with, and we may safely surmise that they will prefer to stay away. Meanwhile, the constitution of the Reception Committee, which has just been formed, gives promise of a Session which will not be such a small affair as first anticipated. Indeed there is evidence that the barriers to the holding of the Session are crumbling with much rapidity."

The Congress in Madras.

17. The HINDU, of the 14th October, writes:-". . . . In the INDU PRAKASH (received this day) we find our contemporary's Calcutta correspondent opening his letter with the statement that 'when you ask a "leader" here, whether a Moderate or an Extremist, what he thinks about the Madras Congress, and whether he will go to Madras, the usual reply is--"Oh, we have had enough of these things. Bengal needs no Congress now. We are satisfied. Let the rising generations of the South now make Congresses and Conferences and all that."' Then after writing about who from Bengal are likely, to, and who not likely to, go to Madras for the Congress, he concludes by saying: 'But it is certain that the ~~kisk~~ rank and file of the Bengali young men who would in former years go to ~~Madras for the C di~~ a distant Congress- and who made Benares, Madras and the like, lively before with

their presence, will not go. The Anarchist trial, the arrest of Aravinda, etc., have damped their ardour, and the bulk of the Calcutta people have turned Extremists and seek opportunity to show their contempt at the Moderates by aloofness.' The question is whether it is an advantage or no that the large number of Calcutta delegates who used in other Congresses to make matters 'lively' should abstain from attending the next Congress. Some may think it would be an advantage and in this class is probably to be reckoned a large number of those who press for the holding of the Congress in Madras in December. We hold a different opinion, It would be a serious blow to the prestige, national character and utility of the great organization if tendencies are allowed to develop which would render it sectional or Provincial. So far as we can see, local effort and energy are concentrated towards making the Congress in Madras an accomplished fact in December next, irrespective of ulterior results. There is no attempt to gauge public opinion outside the Presidency as well as within it. A quest of this kind is apparently regarded as foreign to the purpose which has been long ago formed and is incapable of modification. How little the constitutional aspect of the movement is understood and what transparent fallacies are resorted to to support the theory of the holding of the Congress at any cost, will appear clear from the statement of a local Indian contemporary, which asserts that 'the Congress is essentially and entirely a popular movement which has a momentum of its own, which will come into play even by the impetus which one man can give'. We are also told that those who have opposed the movement 'fixed their attention on a few people guiding it and took no account of the inherent force of a popular movement.' These remarks make it evident at all events to what a limited and narrow range, the proposal of holding the Congress owes its origin. As to how far the inherent force of the movement will propel it to a successful issue, depends upon the conditions of the times, the present political atmosphere and popular temper.

~~The-state-e~~

The state of Bengal seems to be as depicted above. Nothing reliable is known about the other Provinces. The accounts received of mofussil opinion in this Presidency are by no means reassuring as regards the prospects of the Congress."

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(b) Courts.

The Karur sedition case.

18. With reference to the conviction of Sri Krishnaswami Sarma in the Karur sedition case and the sentence of the five years' transportation passed upon him, the LAWYER, of September says:-- Perhaps the Sessions Judge would have inflicted a more serious punishment on the accused in this case, if the assessors had not made a timely recommendation for mercy. We have two reasons for thinking so. Firstly, the Judge himself says, "I think I am giving effect to the recommendation for mercy of the assessors when I pass a sentence of five years' transportation," and this clearly shows that, had he been left to himself, he would surely have inflicted a more severe sentence upon the accused. Secondly, the Sessions Judge has made ~~you~~ many serious conjectures which are not warranted by either the speeches of the accused or the testimony of the witnesses before the Court. Thus the Judge says, "I see clearly that inflammatory speeches are more dangerous in the mufassal than in Madras where British troops are immediately available.", thereby implying that the speeches of the accused were so inflammatory as to have roused the people of that Town. But the evidence of the local officials, whose duty it was to preserve peace in the town, clearly establishes that they had no apprehension of any harm occurring as a result of these speeches and the same view is also expressed in the order of commitment by the Divisional officer. So, it is surprising to see the Sessions Judge ascribing an extraordinary influence to these speeches in the face of all this evidence. Further, the local officials, who gave evidence in the lower court, were not at all

examined for the prosecution in the Sessions, and the fact that these very people were examined for the defence shows that the prosecution case was very weak. The only witnesses for the prosecution were two Police officers, a head constable and a constable, who testified to having taken notes of the speeches and found them to be seditious. But these police constables have no education; nor are they short-hand reporters. So, the conduct of the Judge, in having relief on the evidence of these people alone in such a big case, is open to objection. Moreover the defence was far stronger than the prosecution. To rebut the evidence of the police, many respectable persons of education and position gave evidence on the side of the defence. Thus, there was no data for the opinion of the Judge that the speeches of the accused were so dangerous as to inflame the minds of the people.

(k) General.

The Bombay Government and the schools in that Presidency

21. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 13th October, writes:--The idea, that certain restrictions placed upon the students in their very school life will prevent their harbouring seditious thoughts in the future, has made the Government impose some restrictions upon the conduct of the school-going students. Besides the rules already framed in this respect by the Government of India, which are now in force throughout India, the Provincial Governments are also enforcing separate rules in their respective Provinces. Thus the Bombay Government has recently published seven rules to guide the conduct of the students in the schools and colleges of the Presidency and also a circular for the guidance of the teachers in village schools. Many of us may doubt the necessity for these stringent rules being enforced by the Bombay Government. But one thing may be certainly stated and that is that whether any benefit results from this, or the students become mere bookworms, will depend on the way in which these rules are enforced by the Government and the Educational authorities.

The Government and sedition

22. The INDIA, of the 10th October, writes:--The Karur sedition case has, in a way, been finished by the Sessions Judge sentencing Sri Krishnaswami Sarma to transportation for five years. This lad even apologised to the Government at the outset, acting on the evil advice of some. We think that the Government is wrong in expecting to check the spread of a seditious idea in the land by the infliction of such cruel punishments. All that the seditionists say is; "This Government is a very cruel one. It cares only for self-interest and has no love for the people. So we should not allow this to continue long." Is the action of the Government, in having sentenced an innocent lad to five years' transportation, relying only on the useless evidence of the Police and even after receiving an apology from his, a sufficient refutation of the above charge of the seditionists? If the Government goes on illustrating every statement of the seditionists then and there, which feeling will grow in the country-- a hatred towards the Government or a love for it?

The present strained relations between the Government and the people in India.

23. The NYAYABHIMANI, of the 5th October, writes:--All know where crores and crores of the wealth of India are being taken away and how people here die of hunger. The patriots of the land, thinking it to be their duty to ward off these two evils, had formed District and Provincial Committees throughout the country and intimated to the rulers the grievances of the people. But their prayers were not heard and the patriots, finding that they could not move the Government by their petitions, began to advise the people in the following strain:--

(1) All should use only SWADESHI goods.

(2) None should talk with or do any sort of service to the whites.

(3) All the natives of the soil must form Panchayats among themselves and be bound by their decisions.

(4) All natives in Government service should give up their appointments.

(5) All the Whites in India must be shot dead with revolvers and bombs.

All this would not have happened if the Government had granted the necessary privileges to its subjects thirty years back and drawn them to its side. If the Government, which claims the right of collecting several kinds of taxes from the people does not grant them any privileges and murders them in cold blood, how will they bear it? Unable to endure the suffering, they will try to do anything. So, it is the Government itself and not the wise patriots of the country that is the cause of the present strained relations between the rulers and the ruled.

The release of Mr.G.Subramania Aiyar.

24. With reference to the release of Mr.G.Subramania Aiyar, the INDIA, of the 10th October, remarks:--The Government has allowed this aged patriot to return home after insulting him by taking large amounts from his as security for good behaviour and after taking from him a binding promise that he will not hereafter, till the end of his life, speak or write about public matters in such a way as to cause the dissatisfaction of the Government. Taking this binding from him is worse than transporting him. Not only some fools in the country, bust also the Government, seem to regard this as an act of clemency on the part of the latter. But we hope Mr.G.Subramania Aiyar himself will not deem it a favour done to him. A favour indeed.' This reminds us of the story of the wolf and the stork, read in our youth, in which the wolf is reported to have told the stork as follows: "Is it not a fxxx sufficient favour done by me that I did not bite you when you had thrust your head into my mouth to draw off a bone which had struck in my throat?" The bone of sedition stuck in the throat of the wolf, viz., the Government, and the stork called G-Subramania Aiyar took off that bone by means of its beak of newspaper articles. But this wolf has broken the very beak of the Aiyar stork. Still as it stopped with this and did not bite off its head too, other storks are now expressing their gratitude to the wolf!

25. Referring to the increase in the Military expenditure recently sanctioned by the Secretary of State for India, the BHAVANI, of the 9th October, observes:--It must be considered to be due to the misfortunre of the Indians. The hard-earned money of Indians is wasted on Military salaries and other useless expenses and poverty is their lot. A similar thing cannot be allowed to take place in England. The British bear a certain portion of the expenses incidental to the armies kept in the Colonies. But the Indians bear the expenses of the army kept in England for the sake of India. This is strange. They cannot even complain of their grievances in a "loud voice." It is our opinion that the British who know what justice is should consider this matter.

Wasteful expenditure on armies

VI. MISCELLANEOUS.

30. With reference to the public meeting held in the Victoria Hall last Saturday in connection with the forth-coming Jubilee of the Royal Proclamation, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 12th October, remarks:--The attendance at this meeting was very meagre because only such persons as paid Rs.5 were allowed to enter the Hall. Though loyalty was a feeling that can be shared by all people generally, the fact that wealth was made a qualification for admission to this meeting, made it impossible for lakhs of people who are really loyal, being present on the occasion. It is not the officials and bigwigs alone that realise the benefits which India has derived from the British Government within the last fifty years; even the poor know them. To speak the truth, it is only the poor that have been really benefited by the natural good traits of the British Government and it will not be contrary to the objects of this attempt at a declaration of loyalty if people, other than, rich men, officials and pensioners, are also allowed an opportunity to express their gratitude towards the British Government. It may be said that,

The Jubilee of the Royal Proclamation in Madras.

as the Englishmen, now suspect only the educated classes, it is only these that should now make an open declaration of their loyalty to the Crown and that the ordinary masses who are doubtless loyal need not make any such declaration. But the representatives of the educated classes at Saturday's meeting did not number more than thirty and from this it should not be argued that the educated classes of Madras are not loyal. The reasons for this scanty attendance are really the present mental depression of the people,--especially the educated people,--and the general want of confidence in the success of any public movement. Still we hope that on the day of the declaration both the educated and other classes will muster strong to express their loyalty to the Crown.

The present condition of the Indians in the Transvaal.

31. With reference to the present condition of the Indians in the TRANSVAAL, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 14th October, observes:-- From the telegrams received up to date from the Transvaal, there does not seem to be any chance of the condition of the Indians there being improved. The latest telegram states that many Indians have been imprisoned for having entered the Transvaal after having been ejected from it. If the few Indians and the numerous Whites there are to be pertinaciously increasing their enmity in this way, we have to be seriously afraid of how it will end. It is clearly seen that the Whites have not a ~~gain~~ grain of sympathy for the Indians and their object is doubtless, to root out the Indian element. The Indians also stick to their position, for they feel that they have been granted certain rights by their Sovereign which the Whites cannot interfere with. It will be possible for this struggle to end peaceably only if the Imperial Government recognises its responsibility and metes out justice. But this Government refuses to interfere, being afraid of the Whites who are the permanent settlers in the Colonies. Still, the Indians, relying on the impartiality of the Imperial Government, have resolved not to leave the Transvaal, and the serious consequences that may ensue from the present state of a affairs cannot be prevented unless the King-Emperor orders his subjects in the Transvaal to be just towards the Indian there.

The regime of the East India Company in India.

33. ~~Withxnx~~ While narrating the story of an Indian Polayagar during the regime of the Eastx India Company, correspondent of the India, of the 10th October, observes:-- The East India Company came to India only with the idea of easily robbing the wealth of this land of Bharata by means of trade. But after coming here, they saw that the country was in a state of confucsion, caused by the disruption of the Moghul Empire, and that there was no one exercising a settled authority in the land. This sort of confusion used to occur in every country once in several centuries, and everywhere things used to assume their natural aspect of their own accord after a short time. But the entry into India of many foreigners during this troublous period prevented peace and order being restored in the land; and the chief of these foreigners was the English Company. The members of this Company were born in a barren country and were well versed in a so-called civilisation, whose chief features were outward show, avarice and a thirst for carnal pleasures. These easily swallowed up this land of Bharata, which had become ~~united~~ disunited and weak by means of several traitors cruel and fraudulent deeds. By creating misunderstandings between us and by ruining both the parties with a show of friendship for both, they gradually brought the whole country under their control. When these, who had come here only with idea of robbing the wealth of the country by means of trade, brought the Government of the country also under their control, it became a very convenient job for them. They ruined the industries of the country and reduced us to such a condition that we have now to depend only upon the useless articles of their country. They began to drainn the country of its wealth, strength and life in ten thousand waysl Crowds of poor men came here from England and returned as millionaires. Even English historians have expressed their disgust at the many cruel ways in which the Companyy's servants amassed money in India.

34. A London correspondent writes to the INDIA, of the 10th October, as follows:--There was no Indian here who did not rejoice at the news that Goswami, who had turned King's evidence in the Alipore case, had been shot dead by two Indians in the jail, All felt glad that the traitor, who had betrayed many innocent people, was no more. . . . . One of the charges brought against the Indian students in England is that they are seditionists. English papers like the TIMES think that they can use the word sedition for any kind of conduct. Nodoubt, the Indians are seditionists, if it is sedition to wish that one's country should attain greatness, or to hope that one's countrymen should be happy, free from famine and disease, or to make attempts to train one's countrymen in politics to befit them to exercise certain rights. There is no other kind of sedition among the Indians here, and to call these aspirations and attempts sedition only shows a want of worldly wisdom. . . . Many of the nationalists who are preaching SWADESHISM and boycott as a means to force the Government to grant SWARAJ to the people feel doubtful as to the possibility of our boycott having any effect on the English trade. But the material reduction in the English trade within the last few months should remove all these doubts. As a result of this reduction, the mill-owners in Manchester resolved to reduce the wages by 5 per cent., and this resulted in serious disturbances by the operatives which have been quelled only now. All this has occurred here merely because of the boycott of foreign goods adopted by our land of Bharata, and so our people should not forsake this now. If they will only stick to this boycott of foreign goods to the end, all our industries ruined by the British Government will be revived within two years. . . . . Our poor people, innocently believing that they can eke out their livelihood in the English colonies, emigrate not only to the Transvaal but also to Canada, Jamaica and other Colonies. But the very fact that these are the subjects of England makes the Colonists think that they can treat

Current topics.

them in any way they like and subject them to many indignities. So, it will be better for our people to emigrate to Brazil--a place where both the conditions of service and the treatment are more satisfactory--instead of dying in India by famine or the shots of the Military or leading a life worse than that of the dogs in the English Colonies.

For the weekending 24th October, 1908.

No. 43 of 1908.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY NATIVES.

I. FOREIGN POLITICS.

6. The WEST COAST SPECTATOR, of the 24th October, writes:--

The Turkish Revolution and Indian Muhammadans.

"The question arises what will be the effects of the great events in Turkey upon the Muhammadans in India. Will they adhere to the 'mendicant policy' and the policy of aloofness which have found favour with them? Will they, taking an example from their Turkish brethren, join forces with Hindu Moderates and work for the consummation of our national hopes and aspirations? The Indian Muhammadans, under the lead of interested personages, are insisting upon communal representation, and special favours for their community, for instance the setting apart of a certain number of seats in the Legislative Councils and certain number of appointments in the Indian Civil Service exclusively for them. This attitude is causing great anxiety to Lord Morley and Lord Minto as special favours for one particular community mean the estrangement of feelings of the other communities. This deplorable attitude of the community may possibly become the rock upon which the barge of Indian progress is in danger of wrecking.

"Till now the example of Turkish Mussalmans seems not to have influenced the Indian Mussalmans to even the slightest degree. For, the deputations that have recently been waiting ~~xxx~~ upon the Viceroy and the provincial rulers have been demanding that the reforms contemplated shall proceed upon the basis of communal representation in the Legislative and Executive

Councils, which means the perpetuation of sectarian differences. Now, as we have already mentioned, the population of Turkey is made up of races as diverse as those inhabiting this vast continent. In the European provinces of Turkey the Muhammadans are in a minority. But still they have not detached their interest from off their Christian fellow subjects, and have not demanded special representation in the Turkish Parliament. They are inspired by a national ideal, not narrow sectarian prejudices, and they are content to take their chance on an equal franchise with the other subjects of His Majesty the Sultan. How far the present attitude of the Indian Muhammadan community and its so-called leaders is compatible with the declared policy of its acknowledged leaders like Mr.Justice Amir Ali, the late Mr.Justice Budruddin Tayabji and the Honourable Nawab Sayyid Muhammad we shall presently see. It was only recently announced by Mr.Justice Amir Ali that the objects of the London Branch of the All-Indian Moslem League, of which he is the President, are to PROMOTE CONCORD AND HARMONY AMONG THE DIFFERENT NATIONALITIES OF INDIA; to work in the advancement of the general interests of the country in harmony and concert with the other Indian communities; and to advance and safeguard by all constitutional and loyal means the special interests of the Muhammadan subjects of the King. In a circular recently issued by Mr.Amir Ali it is repeated that the object of the Association is NOT SECTARIAN. Are the leaders of the Moslems in India, working along the policy laid down by one of the best leaders of the community? Mr.Budruddin Tayabji did admit once that the interests of the community have not suffered at the hands of their fellow-countrymen. The Indian National Congress is no sectarian body. It safeguards the interests of the Hindu equally with those of the Muhammadan, and its demands if granted, we hope that and trust they will be granted, are calculated to equally benefit the Hindu and the Muhammadan. The recent election of the Raja of Mahomadabad to represent the United Provinces on the Viceroy's Legislative Council in succession to Munshi Madhow Lal, and the election of the Hon'ble Nawab Sayyid Muhammad by the Madras

Legislative Council to represent it on the Viceroy's Council may be regarded as instances of the Hindu's good feeling towards the Muhammadan. The highest dignitaries of the Muhammadan Church have declared that the Government of the people upon liberal and constitutional principles is in conformity with the preachings of the Prophet. Let our Muhammadan fellow subjects note this and work, in the words of another recent circular of the London branch of the All-India Moslem League, 'in harmony and concert with other Indian communities, in a thorough spirit of loyalty to the British Crown, for the promotion of the general interests of the country.'"

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) General.

8. The WEST COAST SPECTATOR, of the 17th October, writes:-

Indian reforms.

"The other day we commented upon the delay on the part of the Government of India to submit the reform scheme to the Secretary of State in time for the autumn session, and said that the delay might give rise to the supposition that the Government want to put in obstacles in the way of Lord Morley to prevent him from giving effect to his schemex at an early date. We have now every reason to suspect that the Government are pxx purposely causing the delay and that the Government's original scheme has been mutilated and thoroughly recast by honesty John. The other day a Calcutta paper on the authority of its London correspondent said that great departures in the Indian administration will be made in the quiet near future. The Englishman, which is said to be ~~in the~~ in the secret of the Government, now authoritatively contradicts the statement and says that 'there is no likelihood of any break away from Indian administrative methods either this year, or in the year to come, and possibly for some years after that. . . . It is quite true that a reform scheme, which is intended to pave the way for self-government, has been ELABORATED BY LORD MORLEY AND HIS COUNCIL. The scheme, as we stated the other day, has

been shown to Mr.R.C.Dutt and has won his approval!'
This paragraph is significant, and shows the direction in which the wind blows. The paper further says that Lord Morley's scheme is now in the hands of Lord Minto and his advisers and that months must elapse before the Government of India has finally made up its mind about it. 'It will then be sent home to be further ~~says that Lord Morley's sch~~ discussed, and may make another voyage to India and back again before it takes a final shape. It must then with the approval of Parliament, ~~pxxix~~ provided that the GOVERNMENT OF THE TIME (the italics are ours) is prepared to introduce an India Bill, which depends rather on the character of the Government and the nature of the domestic problems facing it." From this it is evident that Anglo-India we will not say the Government of India--~~this it is evident tha~~ fondly think that the present Liberal Government will not survive, in the most, a couple of sessions more, almost all the recent bye-elections being disastrous to the Government, and that they can have their own way if only the Government, down here delay sending their final report home till the present Liberal Government is wrecked. From the passages quoted we can also draw the reasonable conclusion that Lord Morley is determined to take a resolute step forward and that the anticipations of the EMPIRE'S London correspondent, who is, by the way, a gentleman well known in the English political world, may, after all, prove to be correct. It remains to be seen whether Lord Morley will see through the tactics of Anglo-Indians and pilot his scheme through the Parliament this session sending the Government of India about their business. Lord Morley should know by this time that it is dangerous to dally with the present situation and to put off announcing the directions the reforms will take."

9. The SOUTH INDIAN MAIL, of the 19th October, remarks:--

Our fresh military charge

". . . . We now have the annual addition of Rs.45 lakhs to our already over-grown military charges consequent on a further appor-

tionment of charges between England and India. These apportionments have been going on times out of number, always with the one result that justice and fairness are put into difficulty. Extra charges ~~betwee~~ are always thrown upon poor voiceless India. The apportionment of charges between the two countries is fundamentally inequitable. Professor Fawcett of pious memory protested against this in the past seventies of last century. Since then his mantle has fallen upon Sir Charles Dilke, one of the ablest of civilian critics of military affairs. But the system baffles all honest protests. But this system, though 'gangrened to the core,' will endure, entailing more charges by way of fresh apportionments carried out only to suit the necessities of British military organisation. The present international situation warrants against the addition to our military burden. Chances of external aggression are absolutely none. The Russian bogey is dead. Japan is bound down by a convention as well. This further military addition stands self-condemned, when England herself is anxious to curtail her expenditure on armaments. The Japanese statesmanship has cut down ~~xxx~~ the expenditure on armaments by 20 millions sterling. With no prospect of war and with peace shining benevolently over the world, this addition simply means the luxury of learning to waste and to harass.

"A word with regard to the manner of disposal. The War Office has decreed EX-PARTE. The Civil authorities must needs obey. A retrospective effect is given. This is another instance 'where the question of saddling India with any charges is concerned the statesmen and politicians of Great Britain are for the most part strangers to fairness and justice,' as the current number of the MODERN REVIEW puts it.

"We should do well to make a note of a grim irony of fate. When it is a question of imperative Imperial necessity, even colossal sums are found as the Hon'ble Mr.Meston will do just now. On the otherhand, when small amounts are required for education or sanitation, the Indian treasury always suddenly becomes empty. The ever-increasing military expenditure is the real bugbear, the stumbling block, and the perpetual menace to all our material progress."

VI. MISCELLANEOUS.

16. The INDIAN PATRIOT, of the 20th October, writes:--

The Proclamation.

"..... There is certainly an appropriateness in celebrating the Jubilee of the Royal Proclamation, affording as it does a fit opportunity for an expression of those loyal sentiments which receive stimulus from the sentiments and terms of that incomparable document; and if the initial mistake had not been made, of starting the movement from outside and by means of an anonymous newspaper advertisement, more people would have joined it. In itself there is nothing objectionable; and why a sinister meaning was read into it, we cannot say. Those who are responsible for the modified proposal are not certainly fools. They have enough sense to distinguish between an occasion for the demonstration of love and loyalty to the Sovereign and an occasion for fault-finding. For the latter there are other legitimate occasions. An auspicious event like the Jubilee of the Proclamation, there can be no meaning in utilising as a peg to hang grievances on. But somehow, there are people who become nervous at the mention of the Proclamation. We cannot understand their mind or the feeling which impels them. The Proclamation brethes nothing but charity, benevolence, love, justice, righteousness. The main political principles it emphasises had been laid down twenty-five years before by an Act of Parliament, and affirmed again twenty years later. It is too late now to question their wisdom or validity; and it is too much to expect the Indian people to be indifferent to them. They are bound to remain as the basic principles of government, and to be insisted on as such by the people. Those who object to them now are not likely to find many supporters either in India or in England. The most they will succeed in doing will be to exhibit an impatient churlishness at the wisdom and political foresight of their betters. For the people, to merely mention the Proclamation is to recall the principles enunciated in it; and that is fully consistent with their loyal aims and loyal aspirations. They value it because

there is something very valuable in it, because upon it is dependent their status and rights as British subjects. But there is nothing in it which an Englishman should think kit inconvenient to hear repeated. On the other hand, every Englishman should feel a genuine pride, not only in the lofty statesmanship which inspired it, but also in the whole noble sentiments which it expresses.

"In the sentence that 'We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects,' the South African Dutch may have something to object to, but not Englishmen. Every other sentence in the Proclamation is but an explanation of expansion of the same principle. And the invocation of the Almighty in the sentence ' And may the God of all power grant us and to those in authority under us strength to carry out ~~of~~ these our wishes for the good of our people' has the plain significance of a solemn affirmation made before God and man. That after a period of fifty years the people of India should recall this and should desire to extend their rights and liberties in accordance with it is perfectly natural and legitimate. They would be unworthy of their position as British subjects if they so little appreciated its solemn character as to regard it, as some one would tell us, in the light merely of a diplomatic pronouncement made to smoothen the difficulties of a situation of danger. Of course, we may perhaps regard General Smuts' promise made to Mr.Gandhi in that way, but not certainly the Royal Proclamation whose principles have been, both before and after it was issued, the fundamental basis of British rule in India. Individual Englishmen here and there might have interpreted it in the light in which General Smuts' promise may be rightly interpreted. But never has British Government as Government or Parliament or the Sovereign repudiated any part of it. When Sir James Stephen interpreted the Proclamation in the Legislative Council as a diplomatic document, Lord Ripon grew indignant, and in language of great vehemence dissociated

his Government from the 'petty-fogging' interpretation. It is not likely hereafter that responsible men will lend their authority to the unworthy attempt of discrediting the noblest assurance which a Sovereign could make to his subjects and which has the further exceptional merit of having been a thoroughly spontaneous pledge."

17. The MADRAS STANDARD, of the 21st October, writes:--

The Indian National Congress

"One argument constantly urged by those who do not approve of the constitution framed by the Committee of the Surat Convention is that if the Congress is reorganised on that basis it will no more be national. In reply to this taunt we have often pointed out that the Congress has never been strictly national inasmuch as the bulk of the people of this country have thus far taken no direct or active part either in organising it or in its deliberations. The Congress has been national only in so far as it has striven to give expression to the views and opinions which the people generally entertain on the various questions with which they are concerned. It has been a standing creed with the Congress to eliminate from its programme subjects upon which differences of opinion have manifested themselves among considerable sections of the great Indian community. No Indian Community can charge it against the Congress that it has deliberately taken up questions upon which it holds a fundamentally different opinion. What the Congress has been doing has been to discuss matters upon which there has been a practical concensus of opinion among Hindus, Muhammadans, Christians, Parsees, and all, irrespective of their differences of creed or social usage. Questions of local importance or of sectional or sectarian importance have been left to be dealt with by local bodies or separate associations organised on the basis of class or community or creed. To the work and aims of such organizations the Congress has never taken exception. On the other hand some of the leading Congress men have been members of such voluntary

agencies for promoting special or specified interests. But there have been certain outstanding questions upon which enlightened Indian public opinion has ~~been-eer~~ crystallised itself ~~andwithhre-with-d~~ and with preference to which concerted action ~~xx~~ and conjoint effort have not only been possible but have been deemed necessary. It is such questions that the Congress has included in its programme, and on this ground it has entitled itself to be known as the Indian National Congress. Its catholicity has never been and could never be seriously challenged. What it asks for and seeks to promote affects the interests alike the Hindu, the Muhammadan and the Christian, the man of ~~intere~~ wealth, and the poor man, the one condition it lays stress upon being that all should be deeply interested in, and devoted to, the interests and well being of the Indian Empire. It is in this ~~xxxx~~ sense then that the Congress has been called the Indian National Congress.

Example of Bengal.

18. The INDIAN PATRIOT, of the 23rd October, writes:--"Particulars of the partition ~~by~~ day occurrences to hand by the feeling with which the 'partition' of Bengal' is looked upon by the Bengalees. To them the 'partition day' is a day of national mourning, and until the cause that gave rise to it is removed they will continue to observe that day. What strikes us most is, that, in spite of the ~~xxx~~ worst provocation at the hands of the police, and notwithstanding the various difficulties placed purposely in their way by the authorities, the Bengalees acted in a manner to elicit admiration from all quarters. They forcibly proved on that day that they were not going to be rowdy. but were resolved to see that no act of rowdyism marred the solemnity of the occasion. When a motor came up during the procession, a Bengalee ran all the way before it to make way for it; and when an arrogant Englishman whipped the ~~xxxxd~~ crowd that was peacefully rolling on, an educated Bengalee silenced the storm that had been raised, and shutting the carriage

doors, led it out of danger. Such acts do not speak of rowdyism; they bespeak calmness and moderation to a remarkable degree; they bespeak a solicitude for order and an anxiety for peace which are not attributed to lawless people who assemble irresponsibly to shout and riot and enjoy. The Bengalees, on that day, proved that, as a people, they can unite as one man, and feel the weight of a woe as one man, and in the face of provocations, act up to that calm dignity and solemnity which such a mournful occasion required. They forcibly proved, by their conduct, that as a nation, they do not believe in any brute force setting aside a measure they never liked and protested against, but hoped with a determined attitude and resignation like the one they showed on the 'sixteenth of October' to convince the authorities of their high-handedness."

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(b) Courts.

The conviction of Mr.Kelkar, the editor of the MAHRATTA.

20. Referring to the conviction of Mr.Kelkar, the editor of the MAHRATTA, by the Bombay High Court for contempt of Court, the VEERAKESARI, in a combined issue for 30th September and 14th October, (but published only this week), observes that two similar cases have been tried by the Calcutta High Court and two by the Madras High Court, but the punishment inflicted on the offenders was much lighter than that inflicted by the Bombay High Court. How will a Government be able to promote civilization when it would not allow its subjects to speak out their mind and pass honest criticisms? If the authorities would not try to understand what the learned editor meant, he must, of course, suffer punishment. But this only raises him in popular esteem and causes him to be looked upon as a hero while the conviction will shake popular confidence in British justice.

(d) Education.

21. ~~Th~~ A leader in the KERALA PATRIKA, of the 17th October,

Order of the Governor of Bombay regarding the maintenance of discipline among students.

comments very favourably on the order of the Governor of Bombay, regarding the maintenance of discipline among students in public schools and says that the pervading spirit of order is unexceptionable and worthy of being introduced in all the Presidencies. Ancient Hindu ideals insisted upon students devoting their attention exclusively to their studies in addition to cleanliness of dress and person and respect to elders. That there is a deplorable degeneration among the present day students must be conceded by all. It is desirable that the students, guardians and teachers should understand well the advice contained in the order of the Bombay Governor.

(k) General.

22. The NYAYABHIMANI, of the 8th October, says:--We now hear

Who are the cause of the present state of India?

often of bombs being thrown in various places. Who knows to manufacture these bombs? Where did the Indians learn the ingredients necessary for making it? Even granting that all these ingredients are available here, is not the making of bombs an avocation dangerous to the very life of the maker? ~~xxx~~ Why should they even risk their lives like this? Is it not because of disgust? How long should it have taken for them to have become ever these feeling were created in their mind, would they have lent themselves to do such atrocious deeds? Even now the Government does not seem to have succeeded in unravelling the whole plot; for bombs are still being thrown in various places. Is it not the duty of the Government to make a thorough enquiry into the matter and trace out the real makers of bombs and the places where they are made? Instead of this, it is charging with sedition respectable leaders of the people and the patriots really working for the cause of the country and spending thousands to get them convicted. In the meantime the Faringhee editors

of newspapers make their own comments upon these cases and the Judges trying these sedition cases are carried away by what is contained in these papers and sentence the accused to transportation. Why should the Government spend so much money in these cases? Does not this show that the Government ~~xpxx~~ has been wantonly sowing seeds of discord among the people with intent to imprison and deport any number of them?

23. The NYAYABHIMANI, of the 12th October, observes:--

Was Tilak's conviction legal?

We think the conviction of Mr.Tilak was not at all legal and our grounds for thinking so are as follow:--

(1) The Bombay High Court allowed him to be tried in Bombay instead of ~~x~~ in Poona, which was not legal.

(2) The Jury was composed of men who did not know the language in which the articles were written and the case was tried, relying on a mistranslation of the articles.

(3) The prosection depended on the articles as a whole without specifying the objectionable portions in them and the rule that the prosecution is to prove a case was not followed in the case of Mr.Tilak.

(4) He was not let on bail so that he could not instruct his legal advisers with advantage.

(5) While the accused was entitled according to law to reply to the remarks of the Advocate-General on his address for the defence, he was not allowed to exercise this right.

Besides these, there has been miscarriage of justice in many other respects. For example, the Bombay High Court refused to permit Mr.Tilak to appeal to the Privy Council against its decision. How was it justified in acting thus? Can we not presume from this that it did so, being afraid that its decision might be reversed and its injustice made known to the whole world? Does not the fact of the Governor of Bombay having cancelled the fine of Rs. 1,000 and changed the nature of the imprisonment into one of simple, confirm this presumption?

24. With reference to the proposed reforms of Lord Morley, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 19th October, writes:--It is stated that the reforms, which have been under consideration for the last three years, have left the hands of Lord Minto, and that, after consulting with his council, Lord Morley will place them before the Parliament. As any important question with reference to India has to be approved by a number of responsible officers, stage by stage, it takes a very long time for any such question to be decided. Thus, neither the Secretary of State for India nor the Government of India will take any step without the concurrence of the other. So, if these two authorities differ in opinion, it naturally means a delay in the settlement of a question. With reference to these proposals of reform Lord Minto made some suggestions in the beginning which were not, however, approved by Lord Morley. So, the latter considered the subject with his councillors and sent it back to Lord Minto with some alterations, and it is these reforms which have now been sent to Lord Morley. It is said that Lord Morley does not want to take up the responsibility of carrying out these reforms and so wishes to place them before the Parliament. But if Lord Morley thinks that any changes are necessary in the reforms now proposed by Lord Minto, he will make those alterations and send them back to Lord Minto for his approval, and our experience does not enable us to think that there will be a speedy disposal of the matter by the Viceroy. They will be sent back to England perhaps in the end of next year or even later. Thus it may take some years for us to have the reforms that we have been anxiously expecting.

The proposed reforms of Lord Morley.

VI. MISCELLANEOUS.

The present situation.

29. The VEERAKESARI, of the 14th October, (but published only this week), in the course of reviewing the political situation in India, observes that owing to the gradual decay and extinction of Indian arts and industries the struggle for existence is becoming harder and harder day by day, that the more enlightened leaders of the public took up the cause of SWADESHI and SWARAJ, as the proper means of removing the general distress that prevails and began to strongly criticise the policy of Government and that the authorities enraged at this, entered upon a career of repression which has resulted in the prosecutions and conviction of several of the most prominent leaders of the public. The paper next remarks that repression is only calculated to enrage the people. It would be well if Lord Morley were to take popular representatives openly into confidence, consult them on the needs and wishes of the people and carry out his reform scheme. Sympathetic rule alone and not a constant harassing of popular leaders will promote loyalty among the people. Loyalty enforced by threats or compulsion is mere lip loyalty and will not add to the stability of the empire. It is hoped that the enlightened British will take the above into consideration and allow themselves in future to be guided by their true instincts of equity and justice

The coming Congress.

31. Referring to the proposal to hold the meeting of the National Congress this year at Madras and the objection of several Congress leaders thereto, the VEERAKESARI, of the 14th October, observes that those who now take exception to the rules framed by the Moderates, some time ago at Allahabad, seem to be neither Moderates nor Extremists. If these are really Extremists or have objections to the existing rules regarding the constitution it will be possible to discuss the points of difference at the meeting of the Congress and accept the opinion of the majority.

But it would be highly improper to insist upon stopping the meeting altogether and thus ending an institution which has been carefully nursed for the past 25 years. These oppositionists are probably nervous at seeing the fate of the patriotic leaders (prosecuted and convicted of late). If they still have the desire to serve the country fearlessly, it is high time to give up all differences and turn to some practical work.

Congress controversy.

32. Adverting to the Congress controversy a leader in the KERALA PATRIKA, of the 17th October, hopes that the session at Madras will be a successful one. It objects to the policy of excluding those who are unwilling to sign the creed according to the Allahabad Convention and says that the Congress that is to assemble at Madras is a new assembly and remarks that it is not good to have more than one such assembly in the land.

For the week ending 31st October 1908.

No. 44 of 1908.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY NATIVES.

I. FOREIGN POLITICS.

The Transvaal problem

1. The UNITED INDIA AND NATIVE STATES, of the 24th October, writes:--". . . . The celebration of the Royal Proclamation is approaching, and if it is to take effect in the minds of the people as a bright reality, it is necessary to make an affirmation that the British Government, who are mainly responsible for our present humiliating position in the Transvaal, cannot tolerate with complacency of the open violation of one of the most important clauses. The conception that there are two kinds of citizenship within the British Empire, viz., one for the white and the other for the non-white must receive an emphatic disavowal from responsible British statesmen. It is not of course claimed that Indians are not alive

to the economic aspect of the situation but, if that were the only determining factor, some other settlement than the present Acts regulating the immigration and treatment of Indians would have been suggested. That the colonists who are so ungracious as to shut their doors against our brethren should enjoy the privilege of roaming about every part of the Empire, seems an insult which the people feel now as an inseparable part of the order of things but as an incident of their present subordinate position and their country.

"We are anxiously watching the trend of events and public opinion both in India and England; and we should consider it the highest achievement of the British statesmen if a way could be found out of the difficulty which, without unduly exciting the wrath of the Boer oligarchy, would render the position of the Indians consistent with self-respect as men."

2. The MUHAMMADAN, of the 26th October writes:--

The treatment of Indians in South Africa.

"The Transvaal as soon as it is given self-governing rights became elated with 'Imperialism' which means self-government and domination for the whites and slavery and abject degradation for other races. She thinks she can pass all sorts of restrictive measures against the poor Indians. The Indians, as a rule, are by nature a law-abiding people and they have all along quietly, though sullenly, pocketed the insults they have been offered in the colonies.

"Do these colonists fancy that we poor Indians who are their fellow subjects are devoid of any feeling? Have we not any susceptibilities that are capable of being hurt? Are we devoid of all shame that we can tolerate these insults for ever? Have we not our convictions that force us to speak what is in our minds. And is the British Government which is the fairest and most just Government in the world going to look on while three hundred millions of its Indian subjects are injured and insulted by her colonies? Has she not a voice in an affair of the Empire? Does

it not look paradoxical that any man from the colonies can come out of India, settle down here, start a business or do anything as he pleases and we poor Indians ~~if we pay~~ cannot even land the secret shores of the colonies? a colonial ousts an Indian if he passes higher than the Englishman in the Civil Service Examination, he can join in the army, he can take up any high office in India, in fact almost all the places in India are open to him and we are not allowed to enjoy the ordinary rights of citizenship in the colonies. The essence of the doctrine ~~exdi~~ preached by the self-governing colonies towards Indians and Asiatics generally 'is free competition in their lands but monopoly in ours. While the Western nation claim and obtain full commercial liberty in the East, Asiatics are excluded from all countries on racial and economic grounds.

"'The colonials seem to fancy themselves over and above the rest of humanity, and that they have a right to impose all sorts of offensive restrictions against Asiatics. They completely ignore the fact that India, a very large dependency of Great Britain pays out of her revenues an enormous sum for the upkeep of a part of Royal Navy, and the 89,000 British troops stationed in India, besides maintaining a very large army of its own. Just because the three hundred millions of India happen to be coloured, they are ~~not fit to share the privileges the colo~~ inferior to these colonials in all respects, and though they are called the subjects of the same King and citizens of the same Empire, they are not fit to share the privileges the colonies enjoy, and they must therefore go to the wall. The self-governing colonies forget the fact that Indian troops are the bulwarks of the British Empire in Asia, for, are they not found from Aden in the West to China in the East besides garrisoning some of the Islands geographically belonging to Africa? Was it not the Indian contingent that saved Natal from being overrun by the Boers? When I say the Indian contingent I mean the British troops maintained at India's cost. Were not Indian troops employed in East Africa to put down the rising of the Mad Mullah? Were not the troops sent from India the only best-behaved troops in China? How the troops of the great civilised Powers of Europe

Europe conducted thesmselves there is patent to the whole world.

"'The Indians may be coloured, but he knows the qualities that go to make up a gentleman, he knows how to conduct himself as a gentleman, and he knows how to treat a gentleman when he comes across one'.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION

(c) Jails.

5. The INDIAN PATRIOT, of the 27th October, writes:--"The revelations that are being made by the Superintendent of the Midnapore Jail during the bomb case, regularly being reported by our Calcutta correspondent, strikes a childness in the heart and raises the inevitable question whether, after all, the world has really advanced any far from those old days of blood curdling barbarism and cruelty. That responsible officials, entrusted with the administration of a district, should forget the greatness of their responsibility in the littleness of their hearts is deplorable; and yet we find Mr.Weston of Midnapore notoriety going about the jail, speaking with the Superintendent, giving directions as to how the prisoners should be 'celled' and treated. Reports of dramatic interviews between the head of the district and the prisoners have already appeared in these columns, and it pained us very much indeed to know that an Englishman should have used the language and ordered the treatment which fell to Babu Akhil Chander Sirkair's lot in prison. Having arrested him on the vaguest suspicions, and unable to establish the suspicions by any evidence whatever, the head of the district himself personally interests himself and does things which present him in a very bad light. If a police officer had done it, we would have passed it over in the present case, wherein so many men of very respectable character were treated as worse than criminals, with an amount of cruelty which is shocking. But that a responsible executive officer should have done it, and done it too with an evident pride

Terrors of the jail

in his acts, call for the smartest punishment. No wonder that, after such harrowing accounts of the life in gaol, counsel for the accused who are not released on bail should have applied for better treatment to Mr.Weston, as our telegrams inform us to-day; and it is significant that he should have declined to interfere, and the Chief Secretary to the Bengal Government should have been communicated with.

"As for the lot of political prisoners in India, we have often complained that it is a standing disgrace to England's sense of justice. They are put among common felons of the worst type, among robbers, midnight murderers, and criminals of the most hardened kind, persons against whom the strong MORALE of a political prisoner has waged an eternal war."

(k) General.

The way of reform.

6. In a leader on the speech delivered by Mr.T.R. Buchanan, M.P., Under Secretary of State for India, at Bairgowrie, the Hindu, of the 26th October, writes:--". . . . He is reported to have said:--'In the course of the next two months they might hear a good deal about alterations or reforms in details of Government in India, and he hoped the object in view would be understood. But, after all, whatever was done in that direction was a small matter. It was our bounden duty to endeavour to satisfy the legitimate aspiration of the intelligent men we had educated. But they were a comparatively small minority. They were numbered by hundreds of thousands, not by millions, and over and above there was a population numbered not by millions, but by hundreds of millions, for whom the spririt in which they were governed was infinitely more important than any change in letter of an Act of Parliament. The poor peasants scattered over India should have justice fairly administered by kindly, sympathetic rulers. That was what England had done in the past, is doing now, and, he hoped, would continue to do even better than before.' This passage contains nearly all that Mr. Buchanan chose to

disclose about the coming reforms. The announcement that in November and December we might hear a good deal about alterations or reforms in details of Government in India, would serve to relieve a great deal of the growing indifference that at present prevails. What with the initial disclosures of the spirit in which the Government of India and the Local Governments had formulated their reform proposals, and what with the interminable delays and shifts to gain time and opportunities not quite favourable to popular demands, coupled with the wish often expressed in unfriendly but influential quarters that the evil day of the reforms should be put off as far as possible, the classes and communities who at all could be expected to appreciate any real improvement, lost all zest in it and grew more or less indifferent to what might or might not come. To them, the announcement that a good deal of the details of the reform would become public in the next two months, would surely afford some relief. Mr.Buchanan has expressed the hope that the object in view would be understood. In an earlier sentence, he said that 'the reasonable people in India, as elsewhere, were always in a prominent minority, and if they managed to satisfy the reasonable people, they could afford to neglect the unreasonable.' When the local Governments and the Government of India formulated their reform proposals, they too meant them for the 'reasonable people' and thought they could afford 'to neglect the unreasonable.' Mr.Buchanan's speech contains no hint as to whom he would be disposed to regard as reasonable and whom as unreasonable. If his notions of these two classes of people are identical with those of the Government and administrations in India, then, indeed, 'the object in view,' which he is anxious should be understood by the people out here, would be understood by them in the only possible way under the circumstance as being inspired by the same narrowness of vision and want of statemanship that characterised the local authorities. For the rest, the speech of the Under Secretary of State for India is jejune. It is our bounden duty to endeavour to satisfy the legitimate aspiration of the intelligent men we had educated, is

a common enough platitude. But it is exactly this endeavour that has so long not been made, or has been made most inadequately. Year after year, until the abortive Surat Session, the Indian National Congress has been voicing the aspirations of the educated classes and urgently calling for remedial measures. But what has been the measure of attention paid to such demands Mr.Buchanan seems to think that this satisfying of the legitimate aspirations of the intelligent and educated classes, is, after all, a small matter. This is, indeed, the largest matter which those who have been entrusted with the Government of India have been called upon to accomplish. The success or failure of Lord Morley's reforms will depend on the extent to which he realises the importance of this matter. We hope the mistake, for, indeed, it will be a great mistake, will not be made of endeavouring of to satisfy the aspirations of the educated community in a half-hearted, careless way, and then of calling those who may not be satisfied with the course adopted as 'unreasonable people', who could be neglected."

8. The INDIAN PATRIOT, of the 26th October, writes:--"The Royal Proclamation of 1858, whose Jubilee falls on the 1st of November.

The fulfilment of fifty years

has been described by many as a dead letter; it has been argued that the spirit and terms of that memorable document have had no actual application in the government of the country. To our mind this does not appear to be an accurate representation of the policy that has been pursued by the Government; for it has to be admitted that notable advance has been made in accordance with the spirit and terms of the proclamation. This advance, it is true, has not been very general; but if we compare the state of 1858 with the state to-day, we cannot deny that there has been some measure of improvement in our status and rights.

"At this moment we may look back upon the fifty years that have elapsed, with more hope as regards the future than with disappointment in the achievements of the past."

~~XXXXXXXXXX~~
VI. MISCELLANEOUS.

12. The WEDNESDAY REVIEW, of the 28th October, contains the following:--"Speculation is rife as to what the next few months may have in store for us and the air is full of expectations and hopes. The gloom and despair of the past one year and more are gradually wearing off and the look-out is decidedly more encouraging. Though the advent of the bomb paralysed as it were all hopes of a better understanding between the Government and the people and it seemed that the only effect of bomb throwing would be a set-back in the matter of administrative reform and a general panic in the country, the firmness and the good sense of the responsible officers and also of the accredited leaders of the people, effectively checked the spread of panic and helped in practically rooting out a crime so foreign to the spiritual instincts of the people of India. Attempts were, of course, made attempts most discreditable to the parties concerned--to exaggerate the significance of the bomb and the place of those who threw it in Indian society and to create as much bad blood as possible between the English residents and the people. Habitual alarmists and interested mischief-mongers joined hands with a disreputable section of the Press and called upon all an sundry to engage themselves in the holy pursuit of exterminati the Bengali race and their sympathisers, whoever they might be. The action of a stray maniac was magnified into a national characteristic and the sins of a few were sought to be visited upon a whole community; These sorry tactics were too plain tc deceive anybody and they naturally failed of the desired effec The responsible heads of administration and the great bulk of Englishmen resident in the country declined to share the pani so deftly manufactured and they refused to detect in the situ the seeds of another mutiny. Beware of the Jubilee of the mutiny! was the cry started by a handful of scare-mongers an various means ~~of~~ the incidents of the year 1857 were brought to the recollection of those who would fain forget them

The outlook

and would only look upon the event as a nightmare that had passed away without the least chance of its returning. Subscriptions were proffered for celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the mutiny, as if it was an event of which Englishmen or Indians could feel proud in any way and as if it would revive pleasant and helpful memories. But fortunately the idea was still-born and the busy bodies who took so much trouble to batch it, had to bury it almost simultaneously. The ruse did not succeed and in spite of their pains, the scare ended where it was started, and barring an insane article or two in some scurrilous newspaper it had no effect on the public mind whatsoever. It is not likely that similar attempts will be made again and these evil-minded men would have learnt wisdom by their ignominious failure. We believe the unpleasantness caused by recent events had disappeared by now and any remnant of it will be gone when we come to celebrate the Jubilee of the Proclamation. The event is being looked forward to with expectancy and hope by people of all grades ~~in India~~. and ranks. Although it may not be possible to announce definitely the reforms in administration which Lord Morley has in view--and for our part we don't expect them to be announced before January next--the celebration of such an auspicious event as the Jubilee of the Proclamation must usher in a brighter era for the people and more cordial relations between them and the Government. Much of our hope is centred round that event and we have no reason to think that we would be disappointed. If it is not possible to introduce at once and on that occasion the contemplated reforms and changes, a message may be read from His Majesty, reaffirming the great principles enunciated in the Proclamation of Queen Victoria and assuring his Indian subjects that they would be given a more real and potent voice in the management of their own affairs and broadening the basis of popular representation in the councils of the Empire. Such a message from His Majesty delivered in all the dialects of the country on the occasion of the Jubilee will not only erase any lingering unpleasantness in the public mind owing to the unrest but will enable them to realise at least in part hopes

long deferred. That will be an earnest of what will follow shortly and give them so to say a foretaste of the good things intended for them. In the absence of an official statement of the programme to be followed on the occasion, it is difficult to write at length or in definite terms about the subject. One thing is certain; the opportunity will not pass off merely as a holiday, the programme consisting of darbars and parades and for the rest dinners and dances. We trust the grandmotherly notion that nothing appeals to the heart and the imagination of the people of India so much as tinsel domes and elephant rides, has been given up once and for all, and the Government will think of more substantial means of making that appeal than costly follies We cannot but think that a great deal of misapprehension and misunderstanding regarding the present situation and its remedies, is due to the prevalence of such notions in quarters where they are likely to cause the utmost mischief. These remarks would seem to be called for when we consider that hitherto opposition to liberal measures in the administration of the country has come from people who have been somehow imbued with ideas like those we have referred to. It is they who catch so easily and repeat so glibly the misleading phrases about Asiatic imagination and the veil of mystery shrouding everything in the east. And when some of them have the reputation of knowing things at first hand, their opposition is respected beyond its due and even those who have been habitually and successfully fighting against the conventionalities of official conservatism, succumb in the end to the opposition, and the promised land is again as far off as ever. But the outlook in that direction at present is much more cheery than it has been for many years past and we are not indulging in undue optimism when we say, that even in quarters where opposition has hitherto been strongest we may look for support and sympathy. There is the impression that the reforms promised by Lord Morley have not found favor with the services and with the larger section of the Anglo-Indian Press. To entertain that impression with regard to the services and the Anglo-Indian newspapers as a body would be

unjust and uncharitable towards many friends in both these important factors in the country's policy and it can be true only of a few hidebound individuals here and there, whose outlook is much too limited to admit of a truly comprehensive survey of the forces that are at work in the India of to-day. But their apathy will not be allowed to overcome the active sympathy of the great majority of Englishmen here who are entrusted with the responsibilities of administration. We have every hope that their voice and vote will be with us when they are called upon to judge of the reforms and changes which are to be introduced in a few short months and that they will not belie their character as representatives of a progressive nationality."

VERNACULAR PAPERS

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) General.

What should be done to restore peace in India?

16. The NYAYABHIMANI, of the 15th October, observes:--If the British Government wishes to restore peace in India and ensure for ever, the stability of their rule, it must adopt the reforms mentioned below--

Firstly, the Government should nullify the partition of Bengal which is the chief cause of the excitement in India.

Secondly, the Government should pardon and liberate, on the day of the Jubilee of the Queen's Proclamation all those editors, preachers and others, caught for having come forward to work for the public good, who had been found guilty and convicted in cases of sedition.

Thirdly, not only should the Press Act recently passed at Simla be repealed, but the law with reference to presses and preacheings now in force in England should be enforced in India also.

Fourthly, in the Legislative Councils of British India, there must be an equal number of representatives with the officials and these representatives should be elected by the

people according to the laws of England, on this subject.

Fifthly, the Municipalities must consist wholly of elected members and they must elect one of themselves as the Mayor. The officials should have no sort of connection with the Municipalities and the latter must have the authority to carry out anything they deem fit.

If the British Government will carry out all the reforms above mentioned, the Indians will become a very quiet and loyal people. If all this is not done, we do not think that peace will ever be restored in India.

Indians in the Transvaal

19. A leader in the KERALA PATRIKA, of the 24th October, remarks that the injustice and indignities the Indians in the Transvaal are suffering instead of being mitigated are steadily on the increase and presumes the intention of the Colonists to be to drive the Indians out of the Colony altogether. It is strange that the British Government are not bestirring themselves to protect their Indian subjects and they seem to be impotent to effect anything on account of the predominance of the Boer element in high offices as well as in the Parliament. An obvious trepidation on the part of the English Government to wound the feelings of the Boers appears to be the actuating motive that lies at the root of the Boer injustice. Many representative bodies in India and influential men in England are trying to prevail upon the Imperial Government to do something to redress the just grievances of the Indians; but their efforts forebode no hopeful results. If Government and people jointly resolve to proscribe the Colonists and their goods from entering India some benefit may result. Indian coolies should not be sent to South Africa under any conditions. Unless some such steps are inaugurated to protect Indian interests in the Transvaal, Indians will completely lose their faith in the British administration.

An editorial note in the MANORAMA, of the 23rd October, also says that it is a great pity that the subjects of His Majesty the

Emperor should endure such miseries in a Colony under his suzerainty and requests the authorities to try to redress the grievances of the Indians without delay!

VI. MISCELLANEOUS.

20. The INDIA, of the 17th October, says:-- The English Government has imprisoned some patriots in India for having mentioned in writings and speeches that "the Englishmen have been ruling India only with a view to their own profit" and treat them like ordinary murderers. But the Directors of the East India Company have themselves declared that the enormous wealth amassed by the Englishmen from their inland trade was got by such cruel ways as are not to be seen in any country at any time. A great French scholar has said about this subject; "If the method of the English Government in India be deeply examined, numerous will be the truths that are brought to light incriminating England, and all these truths put together may be called the great pillar of English injustice."

For what purpose are the Englishmen keeping India?

In the humble petition of an Englishman by name John Spencer to the Moghul Emperor in the year 1759, it is stated: We have come here only with the idea of trading. Our object is not at all to conquer countries and rule them." The Indian people believed these words and were duped. But the advice given by a Nawab in Bengal in 1756 to his son shows that, even as early as that, some intelligent Indians had understood the fraudulent intention of the Englishmen. He observed: "The heart of the Englishmen is imbued with a desire for wealth and kingly power. Their deeds have clearly shown to the whole east with what contempt they treat the commands of God. . . . My son! Destroy the Englishmen. If you give room for them to open factories and maintain troops within your dominions, your kingdom will soon become theirs." That these words have turned out to be too true, has been well pointed out by the French writer mentioned above. But it may be said that the French writers have said all this on account of their animo-

sity towards the British. Even English statesmen have been repeating the same view. The late Lord Salisbury, who was Prime Minister of England, has stated that England has to suck up the blood of India in order to gain in prestige and wealth, Many Englishmen like Sir Henry xxx Cotton, Digby and Hyndman have clearly pointed out that the Englishmen are ruling India unjustly with a view to their own profit. Withh all this, if our Indian brethren now begin x to resent the treatment accorded to them, the English Government gets awfully provoked. But is it not quite natural for a thief to be provoked by being called a thief?

21. The INDIA, of the 17th October, observes:--Last Saturday evening, a meeting was convened in the Victorial Hall, Madras, for settling the preliminaries to the loyal celebration of the Queen's Proclamation and the Hon'ble Nawab Sayyid Muhammad was in the chair. But the presence of Sri G.Subramania Aiyar and others in this meeting was a noteworthy fact. The mental condition of people like Sri G.S.Subramania Aiyar can be described better as "fear of the Kind" than as "reverence for the King." Leaving this aside, the very fact of this celebration makes us laugh outright. We know some of theose who are taking a prominent part in this movement and we know also with what motive they have joined it, though we do not like to give it out. Coming to the Queen's Proclamation, the Jubilee of which is to be celebrated now, ~~and this is~~ not one of the promises contained in it has been duly carried out till now and this is the view of the congress. Many of those who have joined this loyalists' congregation are also members of the congress and so we believed that these, while adorning the Queen's Proclamation, will at least speak out the truth that the Government has not acted according to it. We think that these people cannot have forgotten so soon Lord Curzon having openly brought this Proclamation into contempt. The British Government is now conducted in direct contravention of the ideas

The Jubilee of the Queen's Proclamation.

contained in this Proclamation, and it will continue in the same state until the Indians have a representative Government.

The BENGALEE writes that the Madrasees should, during this celebration, declare forcibly that the Government should be conducted on the lines laid down by the above document. Not doing even this, it seems they are to sing about the "benefits" and express their gratitude! In addition to this, they are going to poison the minds of the public by publishing certain handbills containing the "benefits" we have derived from the rule of the British Government for the last 50 years. But what will that list contain? Are they going to include the ever-existing famine in it? Are they going to remind them about plague or the increase in the army and decrease in higher education? Are they going to preach about the advantage in having disarmed the people? Are they going to sing a hymn on the land tax which a most heavy burden on the ryot? Are they going to narrate all the troubles caused by the British Indian Police and bless them? Are they going to publish the fact of the people being treated like cattle without having either the liberty of the Press or the right of convening public meetings or the privilege of a fair trial? Are they going to point out the policy of "divide and rule", adopted by the English Government, evinced by its separating the Hindus from the Muhammadans and increasing religious animosities and race hatred? Are they going to dilate upon all the sufferings to which the patriots who attempted to establish union ~~upon all the sufferings to which~~ among the people were subjected? Are they going to express their joy at the Government taking care not to give food for the stomach education for the mind and justice for the soul of the people of the country?

The Indian patriots in England.

22. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 26th October, writes:--Mr. Lala Lajpat Rai and Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal are the two prominent men among those, who, seeing that there was no use of working in India, have now gone to England with the hope that some good may possibly re-

sult from laying our grievances before the British public. Though these have no settled programme of work, they have been expressing their opinions through the papers whenever an opportunity occurred. Recently Mr.Lloyd George, one of the British Ministers, stated in effect that the people of a country, where a distinction is made between different classes in a community, certain higher privileges being given to one class and the other classes having no other privileges but poverty and misery, will have neither manliness nor courage. Lala Lajpat Rai writes to the DAILY NEWS as follows, commenting on this statement:--"If this statement of Mr.Lloyd George will hold good in England, will it not hold good even in India? Is it not true that while the one class, i.e, the Englishmen, who have some higher privileges lead excellent lives and exercise authority, the Indian people have no other privileges but poverty and misery? If that is so, how can the noble qualities of manliness and self-respect grow in the Indians? If it is true in England, that for the people to be rid of slavery there is no other way than constant agitation, should not there be constant agitation in India also? If the people so agitate, the Government punishes those who do so under section 153-A I,P.C. It is for agitating like this that men like Pindi Das and Dinanath in the Punjab and Tilak and Chidambaram Pillai in other places are now rotting in jail like ordinary criminals. Though Mr.Lloyd George is one of the British Ministers, why did he not try to apply his conclusions with regard to India too?" Mr.Bepin Chandra Pal also seems to have told a representative of the MANCHESTER GUARDIAN: "Leave India to work out her own progress." When both Lala Lajpat Rai and Mr.Bepin Chandra Pal maintain that rights are quite essential for the well-being of the Indians, they do not mean that the people of the two countries must get rid of their mutual friendship. If this friendship is to mature, the present methods of Indian rule must be changed and the administration conducted according to the will of the Indians after granting to them all their rights step by step. It is this view that these two patriots are now dinning into the ears of the British public.

24. Referring to the movement to arrange for a Loyalist dinner and generally to promote loyalty among the people, the above paper remarks:--

The Loyalist movement.

Love alone will beget love and not feasts. Loyalty displayed by such devices is mere lip loyalty. If justice and sympathy characterise all the actions of the authorities, loyalty will be created of itself without any adventitious aid. Affection and loyalty towards Government enforced by repressive methods are of little value. Neither Loyalist dinners, nor Loyalist societies, nor Loyalist funds for rewards, nor Loyalist speeches, nor Loyalist publications will be of avail in promoting true loyalty. Rewards speeches, or books to promote loyalty lead to mere flattery. The main point to be borne in mind is that the interests of the British and the Indians are closely bound up with each other. India is considered to be the richest gem in the British Crown; and the Indians hope to advance in material well-being with the help of the British. If then, the mutual dependence and the duty of promoting each other's interests are fully realised, both will be rewarded. Bureaucratic methods of ~~degraded-conditio~~ government will undermine loyalty and at the same time bring us to a more degraded condition. The path of justice is the only path to avoid these dangers. If this principle is strictly adhered to, loyalty will show itself ~~at the~~ without further effort. It is hoped therefore that the responsible authorities at the head of Government, namely, Lord Minto and Lord Morley, will so alter the existing methods of administration as to ~~secure~~ secure for the people of this land true sympathy and justice.

For the week ending 7th November 1908.

No. 45 of 1908.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY NATIVES.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(b) Courts.

Our criminal justice.

3. In an article on the report on the administration of criminal justice in the Presidency, the INDIAN PATRIOT, of the 2nd November, remarks:--" . . . . . . Another question which is raised in the report and which deserves attention is the success or otherwise of trial by jury in this land. The report says that the jury system is generally reported to have worked fairly well; but the Sessions Judge of Tinnevelly alone has serious faults to find. He reports that in several instances during the year palpably wrong verdicts were returned in his Court, and his opinion appears to be that the jury in this country is 'not a tribunal entitled to a large degree of confidence' and this apparently not so much on account of the want of intelligence of the juries as owing to the extent to which corruption prevails amongst them. That of ~~all~~ All the Judge Mr.Spencer alone should pass such a sweeping remarks upon jury system in India is no wonder, for we all know the serious reflection which the same Judge made in his judgment upon the honesty and integrity of the assessors in the Tinnevelly riot case. Mr.Spencer, being perhaps proud of the race to which he belongs, completely forgets that to the charge he chooses to bring against the Indian jury the special jury, composed of a majority of Europeans, is also equally open, and the fact is only too well borne out by the serious miscarriage of justice which characterises these trials in many cases. Government in their order almost agree with Mr.Spencer in his observation; for they say 'with regard to the jury system the Governor in Council regrets to observe that the Honourable the Judges of the High Court find the system to have worked only fairly well during the year. In some districts there is reason to fear that corruption affects their verdicts.' It would have been better if Government

in making this endorsement cited some specific instances where the jury's verdicts were held to be affected by ~~the Indian~~ corruption and dishonesty. Unless and until a clear case is made out against the Indian jury, we cannot hold that jury system is a failure in India. On the contrary, all right-thinking Indians insist, and upon justifiable grounds, that the existing mode of trial by jury should be reformed and brought up to a level with that obtaining in England. An institution is not to be condemned because it admits of defects; true wisdom lies not in the ending of such an institution, but in the mending of it."

A dark page.

4. The INDIAN PATRIOT, of the 3rd November, writes:--"The somewhat sudden suspension of the Midnapore trial, on the ground that the counsel for the prosecution was ill and absolutely 'breaking down' is the latest scene of the great drama which has been before the public gaze for the last five months. As has been the case with every scene, this one is not without a touch of the intensely dramatic in it, and it is but proper that, after a somewhat lurid picture of the gaol and the revelations of the JailSuperintendent, the case should cease with an almost sudden break which surprised the counsel for the defence, as it surprised every one who heard of it. That the plea of the counsel 'breaking down' should have been accepted and the case postponed is not surprising, for that is but a link in the chain of the 'startling' that has characterised the Midnapore 'sensation' from the very beginning. Counsel for the defence have been uniformly expressing their wonder--and counsel for the defence in the Midnapore case are a distinguished galaxy of eminent and experienced men--that the prosecution should take the slow course that it has taken; and repeatedly they have pointed out irregularities in the mode of trial; these irregularities were simply 'noted down' and the reins again given into the hands of the prosecution to go on as they liked. With the light that has been shed on the inner workings of this historic

case, with the insight that we have into the treatment of the prisoners and into the ways that the police have been employing for getting evidence, one cannot help being struck that a postponement should ever have been granted, and granted on grounds characterised by the counsel as 'absurd, ridiculous, most unreasonable, unheard of, and monstrous." During this interval it is feared that the police might use pressure and, as Mr.Roy put it, 'seek by improper means to secure false evidence.' 'From the beginning to end,' said another counsel, 'the police have been fabricating evidence, and a postponement would give them further opportunity.' But the Magistrate thought otherwise, and the postponement has taken place. The Police may or may not fabricate evidence, but the accused are being fleeced, and in the case of the Raja of Narajole the loss comes up to nearly five thousand rupees. The Government never cares for expenses, and perhaps need not care. . . . . . . The Midnapur case will, for ever, stand as an indelible stain on the police administration of Bengal, and the disclosures that were made about their methods of investigation will have only one effect upon the public mind, that of making them shun, whenever possible, the ~~degraded~~ dreaded police; and all that might be done to 'protect' their dignity and 'safeguard' their interests on the part of a solicitous Government would never tend to make them popular, if they themselves do not care to be popular. In fairness to them, however, we have to say that some of the Calcutta police behaved very like gentlemen, and did the most unpleasant thing in a pleasing manner, and several of the house-searches ended in none of those 'scenes' which are so closely associated with them. But then these were only exceptions, and the exceptions proved more forcibly than ever the reform that the police are in need of.. And this reform surely does not consist in yielding to their aggression and leaving them unbridled, but in severely exercising a wholesome check, putting them on the right path, and sternly telling them that the wrong path should be scrupulously left untrodden."

5. The HINDU, of the 4th November, writes:-". . . . . We have not got the full text of the judgments of the High Court, but it comes to us as a great surprise that the conviction in the first case against Chidambaram Pillai, as regards abetment in respect of the speeches made by Surbamania Siva, was confirmed by the learned Judges.

The Tinnevelly sedition appeals.

The conviction in the second case as regards Chidambaram Pillai, and the conviction of Siva in the first, are mainly based upon appreciation of evidence, and the text of the judgment of the High Court will be awaited by the public for a full understanding of the points involved. It is to be regretted, however, that for the disposal of two such important cases in which the evidence of Indian witnesses had to be weighed, and the propriety and correctness of the translations of vernacular words and expressions had to be decided on, one of the two Indian Judges now on the High Court was not called on to assist in their disposal. This is a defect in the composition of the Bench which was not unavaoidable and which, in our humble opinion, must seriously detract from the value which ought to attach to the judgment of the High Court. We may say, however, that if the convictions in the two cases are sound, the substantial reduction of sentences is a modification of the decision of Mr.Pinhey, which will mitigate the shock whkh which his monstrous sentences and extremely crude notions of political principles have caused in the mind of the general public. The sentences even as they now stand are extremely severe and out of proportion to the offences.

The INDIAN PATRIOT, of the 4th November, remarks:-". . . .In view of the Tinnevelly cases and their sensational character, we cannot but wish that the case had been decided by a Full Bench so as to afford the most authoritative pronouncement on the law of sedition.

"As regards p the punishment itself we cannot but wish that the High Court had shown a little more consideration. No doubt, the ideas that have prevailed of late as regards punishment for sedition are of the most severe kind; and there are Judges who would give a 'due effect' to recommendations for mercy, made

by assessors, by awarding five years' transportation, and that to a lad of 19. The sentences, as reduced by the High Court in the Tinnevelly case, are merciful enough. But they still leave a doubt in our mind whether there can ~~n~~ever be a case of sedition in which a mere fine, or simple imprisonment, or rigorous imprisonment for a few months, would be deemed a suitable penalty, although all these different punishments are provided in the Penal Code. In view of the sentences recently passed, we have tried, but failed, to conceive any kind of sedition which could be punished in any of the less severe ways contemplated by the Penal Code; and their Lordships have not given us any enlightenment in this direction".

(k) General.

8. The WEDNESDAY REVIEW, of the 4th November, writes:--

The Military charges.

"We are glad to hear that the Government of India will not take lying down the decision of the Romer Committee in the matter of the apportionment of military charges between England and this country. No self-respecting Government can submit without a protest to so arbitrary a decision, arrived at ~~a~~ in a manner which ~~without-a-p~~ neither suggests wisdom nor fairplay. Practically speaking, the interests of India were not at all represented on the committee, though perhaps as a piece of formality, Sir John Edge and Sir Beauchamp Duff were there. We are not aware why these two should have been selected to represent India, and we are utterly in the dark as to their qualifications to urge on their colleagues the claims of this country for a more equitable treatment in respect of army charges. They have not been known to take any special interest in our affairs and if Lord Morley had wished that substantial justice should be done to us, his Lord ship should have gone in for men who could speak with better authority and who are more sympathetically inclined towards us. With a couple of such indifferent representatives on the committee, it is small wonder that we should have been mulcted in another forty-five lakhs. The reasons adduced for this unjust imposition are of the most flimsy kind and cannot deceive anybody into believing that the Romer Committee was a Daniel come to judgment. In fact, it is an EX PAETE judgment and ought to be condemned as such

VI. MISCELLANEOUS.

10. The MADRAS STANDARD, of the 31st October, writes:--

Jubilee of the British Indian Empire.

"Monday the 2nd November 1908 will be a memorable day in the annals of India. On that day the Indian subjects of the King-Emperor will celebrate the assumption, by the British Crown, of the Government of India and recall to their grateful memory the words of hope, of love, of peace, and of promise spontaneously addressed to them by Victoria the Good. In temples, in mosques, in chunches, in almost every enlightened Indian home, and in public places men and women of all classes will assemble to rejoice at the event. Leaders of thought and opinion and the educated classes generally will, by means of enthusiastic demonstrations of joy and loyalty, prove to the world at large how firm is the hold which England has obtained upon the hearts ~~and how firm is the hold which England has obtained upon the hearts~~ and consciencesxx of the people of India. It will be shown that existing controversies and differences of opinion notwithstanding the heart of the Indian nation is sound and that in spite of all that has happened the proverbial, traddditional and instinctive loyalty of the people of this country, their innate love of peace, order and progress and their respect for constituted authority, which is the first principal condition of all progress to be sure, have never been shaken and, indeed, will never be shaken. Monday will at once be a day of thanksgiving and of hope,--of thanksgiving in regard to the blessings of the past and of hope in respect of the future.

"We Indians must unite heart and soul and, in a spirit of reverence and loyalty, celebrate the Proclamation Day:--the Jx Jubilee of the assumption by the British Crown of the Government of India.

11. The HINDU, of 2nd November writes:--". . . . It must be

The Jubilee of the Proclamation.

a matter of the deepest satisfaction to the people of India wi that in the

Royal message which His Majesty the King-Emperor has sent them to-day, the fourth clause expressly refers to the Proclamation of Queen-Victoria as 'the great Charter of 1858'. His Majesty's message is a message of peace, of patience, and of promise of progress. It recounts is-a-me in general terms the effects of British rule upon the land and its people during the last fifty years, and it would be observed that the Royal message contains substantially no greater claims on the part of the administration in India to the gratitude of the people than are fully acknowledged in the addresses read to-day at the Banqueting Hall, one to His Majesty the King-Emperor and the other to His Excellency the Governor of Madras. No thoughtful man can deny that the general trend of British rule in this country has been productive of great benefits. During the greater part of the last fifty years, the latex Queen-Victoria was the Sovereign, and of her reign and for all her subjects throughout the British Dominions, it is eminently true and just, what the late Lord Tennyson said: "She wrought her people lasting good." The King-Emperor truly says in his gracious message to-day:--'Difficulties such as attend all human rule in every age and place have risen up from day to day, and have been faced by the servants of the British Crown with toil and courage and patience, with deep counsel and resolution that has never faltered or been shaken. If errors have occurred, the agents of My Government have ~~prxxxdx~~ spared no pains and no self-sacrifice to correct them. If abuses have been proved, vigorous hands have labored to apply a remedy.' His Majesty denounces strongly and expresses a determination to sternly repress 'guilty conspiracies that have no just cause and no serious aim.' It has been pointed out repeatedly that the portion of the population which is affected by such nefarious designs is infinitesimal, and it is absolutely in accordance with truth when His Majesty declares that 'these conspiracies, I know to be abhorrent to the faithful and loyal character of the hosts of My Indian subjects.' Anarchism is a foreign and deadly excrescence in Indian life, and it cannot find congenial soil, nor take root in this historic land of ancient civilization. It is gratifying to

note the assurance given that steadfast steps will be taken to obliterate distinctions of race in conferring posts of public authority and power to sons of the soil. More important than this, as bearing upon the progress of the people, is the pledge given regarding the extension of the principle of representative institutions in the Government of the country. It is pointed out with much wisdom and grace that 'important classes among you, representing ideas that have been fostered and encouraged by British rule, claim equality of citizenship and greater share in legislation and Government. The politic satisfaction of such a claim will strengthen, not impair, existing authority and power. Administration will be all the more efficient if the officers who conduct it have greater opportunities of regular contact with those whom it affects and with those who influence and reflect common opinion about it.' These are admirable sentiments showing far-seeing statesmanship, and instinct with sympathy for the people, and when they are embodied, which the Royal Message graciously assures us that they will be in 'measures that are now being diligently framed,' they will undoubtedly, as His Majesty truly declares, 'mark a notable stage in the beneficent progress of your affairs.' The Royal Message has promised an amnesty or reduction of punishment in the case of persons whom the Courts have 'badly' punished for offences against the law. We hope this merciful concession will be liberally bestowed in the cases of the many persons who have been convicted of political offences. A fruitful source of heart-burning and sense of injustice and wrong in the mind of the general population will be removed if this beneficent measure is carried into effect in a liberal manner. The King-Emperor's Message will, we have no doubt, be received, on the whole, with feelings of devout thankfulness by all thoughtful and intelligent men in the country. Its re-affirmation of the principles contained in Queen-Victoria's Proclamation of 1858, its liberal recognition of the growing hopes and aspirations of the Indian people, and its enunciation of the principles of the proposed reforms in the Indian administration, are conceived in a high spirit of statesmanship which is of happy augury for the

progress and welfare of the people. If the celebration of the Jubilee of Queen-Victoria's Proclamation heralds the dawn of an era of realization of the noble aims and purposes of a beneficent Government as outlined in the King-Emeperor's Message, an epoch of general contentment, peace and prosperity for the people will be assured."

12. The INDIAN PATRIOT, of the 2nd November, remarks:-- "The ~~Gxxxixxx~~ gracious message of His Majesty the King-Emperor, which is conveyed to-day to the Princes and the people of India, will be received by every loyal subject, with the respect and reverence due to our august Sovereign whose love for India, inherited from his illustrations mother and enhanced by the visit of himself and of his son to this country, finds feeling expression in the message. When the late Queen of beloved memory issued her famous Proclamation, the circumstances of India were very different from what they are today. The problems which confronted British rulers fifty years ago were chiefly those connected with ignorance, superstition and fanaticism. The problems which confront them to-day are those created by the awakened intelligence of the people, their enlightenment and their loftier idea of progress. For this wonderful change British rule may justly take the credit. It is the work of British rulers, their administrative and educational system, their literature, history and science that have so revolutionised the thaughts and ideas of the people, that have inspired them with larger hopes and higher aspirations. India under King Edward is far different from the India of the pre-Mutiny days, and Englishmen may well feel proud of the achievement of fifty years. The task that now lies before them is to proceed on the lines of advance they made, and to so satisfy the hopes and aspirations, which they have awakened, as to harmonise contentment among the people with the strength and security of the Empire. 'In their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment

The King-Emperor's Message.

our security, and in their gratitude our best reward.' So declared Queen Victoria; and the same holds good to a higher degree, at present. The responsibilities, of Britain have since vastly increased; and with these increased responsibilities her difficulties have also become greater. She has enemies abroad who will not hesitate to take advatgage of any opportunity to harass her; the disclosures that have followed the Kaiser's disclaimer show beyond doubt the necessity for maintaining India strong and unassailable, with a prosperous and contented population. Britain's work has all along been the work of regeneration, and revivification of the intellectual and moral side of the people; and the greater opportunities that are being opened out to them will, indeed, gradually enable them to realise the great possibilities of their race.

"The Royal Message now issued is not intended for criticism, and surely this is not the occasion for a critical examination of the policy and measures compressed within the period of the past half a century! It is an expression of His Majesty's good-will towards his subjects, of his solicitude for their welfare, and of his intention and determination to advance their interests and prospects, and we welcome it with the most sincere feelings of loyalty and gratitude.

"Nor is the opportunity to be allowed to pass without some marks of Royal grace and clemency, In this His Majesty follows the example of his revered predecessor. In 1858 the Royal clemency was extended to a class of offenders different from those to whom it is to be extended now. They were guilty of dark deeds, of actual rebellion. But several of those who are now rotting in jail have offended by words only. Some of them are mere youths; all of these are men of decent station in life, to whom hard labour in jail is much more than a punishment. Nor is it generally believed that every one of them has been convicted on unimpeachable evidence. Law and authority have been vindicated as against them; and the Royal clemency now to be extended to them will produce nothing but a happy feeling in the country. To pardon the offences of men who have been misguided

is a high prerogative of the Sovereign; it is also consistent with the patriarchal character of Kings. The late Queen granted unconditional pardon, amnesty and oblivion of all offences to those in arms against the Government. His Majesty now grants pardon to men who have been guilty of far less serious offences and who, when restored to liberty, are sure to return to their homes as peaceful subjects. The message also promises substantial boons to the Indian soldiers who have proved their valour and loyalty in the field. They are not the least valued portions of the fighting strength of the Empire, and in their steadfast loyalty and courage the Empire has a resource of strength of which Indians are rightly proud."

The MADRAS STANDARD, of the 3rd November, writes:--

"What, then, shall we say of this message? It is a literary masterpiece in the composition of which we see the Roman hand of Lord Morley, and which brethes the spirit of the policy for which he has been responsible. It is an earnest expression of peace, love and good-will on the part of His Majesty the King Emperor who, besides being the greatest of living Monarchs, is also one of the most sagacious of living statesmen. If we read the message through carefully, we shall not find anything new or striking. But it is a document elastic and bread enough to make room for wise and beneficent measures of reform in consonance with enlightened Indian feeling. It is a dignified survey of the past and a hopeful forecast of the future,--which must be taken and read along with the great Rroclamation of 1858."

The WEST COAST SPECTATOR, of the 4th November, writes:--

". . . . Compared with Queen-Victoria's Proclamation of 1858 we must confess King-Edward's message is dull and uninspiring. It has not the literary merit which we should expect in a production of Lord Morley. The long enumeration of the results achieved by British rule in the past and the praise of 'the agents of my Governments' take up half the message. These things the people here may well be supposed to know, and would not have missed. After all, Royal Proclamation go for little.

The problem is right here at our very door. On Indian soil east and west have met. The future of the Indian Empire and its relation to Britain will depend on the mutual relations between the races, on the British realising their true mission out here, and the Indians learning to help and uplift themselves."

The Proclamation Day.

13. In an article on the celebration of the Proclamation Jubilee, the SOUTH INDIAN MAIL, of the 2nd November, writes:--". . . That the terms of the message have beem most inadequately fulfilled is a hard truth. The Anglo-Indian statesmanship fails to entertain us with a chapter of its achievements on this score. Sofar as the fulfilment of the promises in the Proclamation is concerned, the Anglo-Indian statesmanship has been a minus quantity. There is something more than non-fulfilment. Lord Curzon did not hesitate to tamper with its promises and he did not blush to declare that the highest appointments in the public service of this country should be a preserve for the favoured representatives of the ruling class.

"There is yet another irony. In times gone by, India used to cherish the Liberal victory in England. India eagerly used to look forward to the day of Liberal victory under the impression her grievances would freely be heard in Prliament. But what has come to pass with a democratic Parliament and with a philosopher statesman at the head of the Indian administration? It is all a 'tragic irony in the spectacle of the foremost representative of philosophic Liberalism attempting--with the help of that facile and confident departmentalist, Sir Herbert Risely--to find the greatest common measure between the Simla Secretariat and a vast movement of popular forces.' Discontent can never be a manufactured commodity. It is deep-rooted in the universal hunger of the entire continent. Clouds alone are not to blame for this state of affairs. Famines, according to Mr.H.M.Hyndman, are, 'official manufactures.' None can gainsay they are at least partially so. The Government fights shy of the economic

inquiry so often pressed upon it. But, on the other hand, the hammer of repression is freely used. Not to take up the Bengal and the Punjab cases, in Bombay alone, we had the following telling instances. The editor of the Marathi weekly VIHARI, for an article embodying a translation of a poem by Mazzini, was awarded the severest sentence of two years' hard labour and a fine of Rs.1,000. the editor of the HIND SWARAJYA, a Guzeratti weekly, was sentenced to three years' hard labour. Mr.S.M.Paranjpe, editor of the KAL, a Marathi weekly, was ill-fated to suffer ninteen months' hard labour. Two instances out of Bombay we will choose to cite, one of them being an instance of curious preversion. Mr.Fazl Hassan, for an article in an Urudu monthly criticising the British educational policy in Egypt, was sentenced under the Indian Penal Code to suffer two years' hard labour and a fine of Rs.500. Mr.Hoti Lal Varma, for sending a seditious telegram to a Calcutta newspaper, was sentenced to suffer seven years' transportation. In Bombay there is the towering instance of the prosecution of Mr.B.G.Tilak for two articles in the Marathi KESARI with the result of six years' transportation and a fine of Rs.1,000 (since remitted). The entire Indian Press has expressed itself against some irregularities with regard to the details of the trial.

"The people of Madras choose to celebrate the Proclamation Day. They will prominently bring out the non-fulfilment of the promise therein mentioned. Their celebration is welcome from one-view point--there are yet privileges in it to cherish, to redeem, and to stand by."

14. The MADRAS STANDARD, of the 4th November, writes:--"The spontaneous and enthusiastic manner in which the Jubilee of the Proclamation of the late Queen-Empress was celebrated on Monday both in the city of Madras and in the mofussil should have brought home to the mind of the most casual observer the deep loyalty which the people of Southern India entertain towards the British Raj.

Proclamation Celebration in Madras.

Whenever an opportunity has occurred for exhibiting this loyalty in a natural and not in an artificial manner the people in our Presidency have come forward and shown how they appreciate the benefits of British rule and the principles which guide it, however much the details of the administration may lay themselves open to criticism. The genineness of this loyalty cannot be questioned.

15. The WEDNESDAY REVIEW, of the 4th November, writes:-

The celebration of the Proclamation Jubilee

"As was expected the celebration of the Jubilee of the Proclamation at Madras was a thorough success, and we have no doubt that the celebration in other provinces was equally successful. The event by itself is of profound significance to the people of India, and it must be a powerful incentive to them for further progress and advancement under the aegis of British rule. Especially now when the gospel of despair is being loudly preached in some quarters and impracticable ideals of nationality are being dangled before them, there is need for reminding them of how much they owe to that rule and what great prospects of national well-being lie before them. Amidst disturbing counsels the fiftieth anniversary of the great Proclamation comes to revive grateful memories and serves as an occasion to take stock of what has been achieved by British statesmen for the good of India in the course of this half century. The record is not all perfect, and here and there, there may have been a falling off from the ideal set before her representatives by Queen Victoria for the governance of her Indian Empire. But these shortcomings are as nothing before the sum-total of the great work that must ever redound to the glory of Britain. To have raised a whole people from the moral and mental torpor of centuries and to have provided them with opportunities for their development in all directions, is no mean achievement and for this, if for nothing else, the people owe an enduring debt of gratitude to their rulers. The address presented to Sir Arthur Lawley by the citizens of Madras sums up in one

single sentence the blessings which British rule has conferred upon the country. 'Reforms in all branches of the administration, the gradual opening up of higher appointments under the Government to Indians, the establishment and the subsequent reconstitution of the Legislative Councils, the introduction of local self-government, the promotion of education and sanitation, the construction of great public works, the extension of facilities of communication between the different parts of the Empire and the numerous measures taken for the improvement of the condition of all classes are abiding proofs of the solicitude of the Government for the welfare of the people of this country.' These constitute a record of which any nation may feel proud and the Proclamation of His Majesty points to a still brighter one in years to come."

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

I. FOREIGN POLITICS.

"Atrocities in the Transvaal"

16. Referring to the cruel treatment accorded to Mr.Gandhi (Barrister-at-Law) and other Indians in the Transvaal for refusing to make finger-prints in obedience to a new Act passed there, the KISTNAPATRIKA? of the 25th October, (received on the 2nd November 1908), observes:- Nowhere in the modern civilised world is to be found such a dreadful Act. Our countrymen are trying to swim (set themselves) against this Act, without caring for their life or honour. However much our countrymen might complain, neither the Indian nor the Home Government concerns itself in this matter. Meetings should be held throughout the country to condemn these atrocities, and to request the British Government to admonish the Transvaal Government and relieve Mr.Gandhi and other patriots of their troubles.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(a) Police.

The Police and the collection of the National Fund.

19. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 30th October, remarks:--While collection of the National Fund was being made at Nagerkoil on account of DEEPAVALI, the Police Inspector of the place appears to have stopped the collection by threatening to report against it to the Government. We cannot understand why the Police should interfere in this affair which is purely an attempt made to help the growth of the industries of the land. The Maharaja of Travancore paid Rs.599 and the Governor of Madras, Rs.2,500 to the All-India Weaving Competition organised by the National Fund Association. So, the work of this association cannot be said to be seditious. Such being the case , the interference of the British and the Travancore Police in this matter is quite illegal. We hope the Diwan of Travancore will consider about this.

(k) General.

The Royal message.

21. With reference to the Royal message to the Princes and peoples of India, received on the 2nd instant, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 4th November:--It is greatly to our advantage that the King has, in this message, not only upheld the promises contained in the Queen's Proclamation but also tried to prove that the British rule has all along been conducted on those lines alone, unlike some British statesmen who, changing the real meaning of that Proclamation, declared that the British rulers of the present day were not bound by it. The King's messagehas held out high hopes to us with reference to our main aspirations, viz., that we should be given the higher appointments in the country, without any distinction of race, and that we should have a greater share in the administration of the country. The message states that certain reforms on these points are now under consideration and will be published soon, and we hope, ~~the-King~~ when published,

they will not be a disappointmant to us. In one respect alone, the King's message seems to have a flaw and that is the omission to make any mention of the bad treatment now accorded to the Indians in the Colonies in spite of the promise in the Queen's Prodlamation that "The British and the Indian subjects will have equal rights." Still, the ministers of the King have been expressing their inability to insist on the Colonies acting according to their will and how can we expect them to grant us a benefit which they are not able to do?"

VI. MISCELLANEOUS.

Who will help us at this moment?

28. The NYAYABHIMANI, of the 19th October, observes:--Lakhs of our people are dying of hunger, having no means of livelihood in this country and lakhs of them are dying in foreign countries uncared for, having gone there to eke out a livelihood. Why should our countrymen suffer like this? Because the foreigners have come here and monopolised all trade and all the industries and employments in the country. They do not take the least trouble for reaping all this benefit. They have most up-to-date conveyances for travelling even short distances. Even while travelling in the railway, they occupy a first class. No India, whatever his position, should sit with them, here and if he happens to get in, he will be necked out the next moment bag and baggage. Even when they sleep, a black must draw their punkahs and if he dozes, even in the least, a kick and instantaneous death will be the result. They live in grand buildings with a lot of servants and all of these servants are only Indians! For all this service, they get only half a stomach of gruel, and that with enough of kicking and thrashing! Will not this afflict the minds of the o other Indians? The patriots and the benevolent persons of our country are anxious to devise means to remedy this state of things and they are sacrificing their body, wealth and soul only for these suffering countrymen of theirs. But what can these do? Can they redeem all the people of our country who have

become steeped in poverty? But still they tried their best to do so by opening different industries here. The several whites and Ferigghees here, including officials and traders, seeing that their position will be materially affected if the people succeeded in their efforts, called this sedition and deported and imprisoned many respectable men so as to strike terror into the minds of the people. Who is there to intimate all this to the King and help those who are in prison?

The Hindus and the Muhammadans in India.

29. A Muhammadan correspondent of the INDIA, of the 24th October, addresses his co-religionists in the following strain:--Mussalmans. The troubles and losses caused to our land of Bharata, on account of its subjection to a foreign nation, are numberless. Our countrymen are drowned in poverty from day to day and every week thousands of us fall victims to famine and plague. Many countries have till now been ruled by foreigners. Even this India was subject to foreigners before this period. But no country has had to suffer so many troubles and losses under the rule of any foreign nation as India does now. There are two kinds of strength--brute strength and manly strength. The former is that which is used to destroy an enemy mercilessly, even though he is weaker, while the latter is that which opposes an enemy only when is equally strong and well-armed. The strength with which the Englishmen rule over us is only brute strength. But this brute strength alone will not suffice for the people of a little island 4,000 miles off to rule over 30 crores of us here. They have used the additional strategem of "sowing discord among friends" to enslave all of us. Though the British have been governing us only by their brute strength and the use of this strategem for nearly a century, we have not fully regained ~~the use of th~~ our sense. But, by the grace of God, we have now woke up and we must soon open our eyes fully and shake off the illusion that blinded our eyes till now. The moment a thirst for liberty was created in us, our enemies began to know us and no

friendship can possibly exist between us hereafter. It is three years sinee we began our work. We have got into the water and are now half way. We must either reach the other shore or get drowned. It is foolishness to retract, and he is a great sinner who is allured by the deceitful words of the enemy or comes back to fall at his feet. As long as we continue to be under the rule of the foreign Englishmen, they will drain our blood like leeches. Their Government has been established here only to enable them to livexx at the expense of our lives. So we must, without delay, join together and do our work.

Brethren! The Muhammadans also came to India only as foreigners; but they did not cause us so many troubles and losses as the Englishmen have. They did not come here to rob. They hated the use of mere xxx brute strength. They regarded the Hindus as their brethren and treated them with kindness and generosity. Emperor Akbar observed no distinction of race or religion in administering the country. He did not establish one law for the white and another law for the black. Evan now the Musalmans regard the Hindus only as their brethren. As Sir Sayyid Khan said, the Hindus and the Muhammadans resemble the two eyes of Mother India. Such being the case, some wicked Englishmen babble that the Hindus and the Muhammadans xx are hereditary enemies like the rat and the cat, and that it is they (the Englishmen) that keep them from falling out with each xother! How can a rat and a cat trust the English bull-dog? Cannot a rat which trusts a bull-dog, rely upon a cat and cannot a cat, which befriends a bull-dog, love a rat? We trust none will be deceived by the words of these wicked people. The Indians in the Transvaal, both the Hindus and the Muhammadans, are being most cruelly treated by the whites there. The Muhammadans are also xxy dying of hunger on account of the destruction of the industries of the land. So there are many reasons why we should work with the Hindus.

30. The INDIA, of the 24th October, intimates to the French and the British authorities its objects and aims in the following terms:--

The objects and aims of the India.

"TO THE BRITISH AUTHORITIES.

Our idea is not to cause riots in the country and ruin the British Government. We know that the occurrence of a riot now will only increase the difficulties of our people. But our desire is that the people in British India should also have the "vote" as in the French Settlement and that they should strive for establishing a representative Government. The British have granted such a form of Government even to the people of the Transvaal who actually waged a war with them. They are ruling India alone in the most uncivilised manner, without granting her any rights. They have ruined the wealth and charity of India. They have struck a blow at the root of the growth of the industries of the land. Things have now come to such a pass that we have to be seriously afraid whether the race of Bharata, which has become immersed in famine, disease and injustice, will soon cease to be. Our object is that the people should oppose this with the weapon of "passive resistance," a method which has been followed even by the people of England. The English officials must be brought to their senses and they must be made to abide by the popular will. The people should not continue to be quietly putting up with their despotic rule. It is usual for the foolish people in the world to abuse their enemies and call them names. Just like this, the British Governmenr regards all the reformers to be anarchists who throw bombs and inflict beastly punishments on them.. Is this just? So, we will incessantly advise that efforts should be made by the people in British India to attain a representative Government by peaceful and orderly methods. This object is not in the least unlawful and none ~~that~~ but brutes can object to this.

Mr.Buchanan on the educated and the uneducated classes in India.

31. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 27th October, writes:--In a recent speechof his, Mr.Buchanan, the Under Secretary of State for India observed as follows:--"As a new spirit is leavening the minds of the people in the whole of Asia, even the Indians are now engendering new aspirations. It is the duty of England to satisfy these desires to a legitimate extent. It is not all the classes among the people that are cherishing these ideas, for it is only the educated classes, who form a minority, that do so. The gist of their aspirations is that they should have a reasonable share in the conduct of the administration. But the majority, who xx are the agriculturists, do not consider this as very important and will be entirely satisfied if justice is adminis-tered on an impartial basis and tempered with mercy." Though he has spoken out the truth in the above statement, he has not uttered the whole truth. We do not agree with him in thinking that the majority of the people are not having any new desires. To form the few who have English education into one class and all the remai-ning people into another class comprising the uneducated and to divide the people on this basis only shows the characteristic of a foreigner who having all cannot truly gauge the state of the c country. But those, who know this well, having lived among, and associated with, the people of the country, will not make such a division as the above; because between the few xixx who have an English education and the masses who are illiterate, there are lakhs of people depend x for their livelihood upon the educted class, their minds are also imbued with the ideas and aspirations of the members of that class. So Mr.Buchanan is not correct in say-ing that the new spirit is leavening the minds of only a few among the Indians. With regard to the other statement that the agricultural classes will be content if they have impartial rjustice, if should be admitted that, however ably and purely the Englishmen administer justice, the agriculturists will be better pleased and have greater benefit if justice is administered by Indian officials under Indian supervision.

The Queen's Proclamation

32. The SWADESHABHIMANI, of the 1st November, observes that the Proclamation of 1858, is regarded by the Indians as an important charter of their rights and liberties, that it has the effect of creating a tie of affection towards Government even among the malcontents and that it may be taken by the authorities as a compass to guide them. At the time of the Proclamation Her Majesty the late Queen Victoria granted pardon to all who took part in the mutiny of 1857- Sir Henry Cotton suggests that this anniversary is a fitting occasion for releasing all political prisoners. Such clemency will uphold rather than undermine the prestige of the British empire. One great reason for the commemoration of this Proclamation is the sympathy it reveals. It is the lubricant (oil) which makes the whole machinery of Government run smoothly. His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales pointed out that want of sympathy was a great defect in the present administration. Lord Morley also observed the sympathy was the secret of Indian administration. But do the authorities here act up to his advice? The Proclamation may be taken as our political ideal. Once we acquire the privileges promised therein, we shall have acquired SWARAJ (self-Government) Our fitness alone will help us to obtain these privileges. We must therefore first cultivate in ourselves unity of feeling, improve our education, patriotism and social state and become fit to enjoy those privileges. As subjects of the British Empire, our claims to the privileges of British born subjects are admitted. We then have the same privileges as the British subjects in England or in the Colonies. Again the Proclamation guarantees that "in framing and administering the law, due regard shallbe paid to the ancient rights, usages and customs of the people." Do the foreign administration know these rights and usages better than the people themselves? All the neighbouring countries, such as China, Japan, Persia and Turkey, have established a representative form of Government. Even in Mysore and Travancore there are popular representative assemblies. Are the British Indian subjects alone less advanced? The Royal Proclamation also promises that Indians of whatever race or creed

would be freely and impartially admitted to offices in Government service. Lord Morley said that this promise would be liberally fulfilled. The late Queen Victoria expressed her wish that the Indians should enjoy prosperity and social advancement which are secured by internal peace and good Government. If the higher administrative posts now set apart for the Europeans were conferred according to merit alone without regard to creed or colour, it would certainly increase the prosperity and social advancement of the Indians. In the Proclamation the Queen also expressed her earnest desire to stimulate the industries of India. But it is very unfortunate that the industries of India have been steadily waning all the time. If our present rulers had fulfilled in a liberal spirit the pledges given by the Proclamation, there would not have been this agitation for SWARAJ. Besides, even statesmen like Lord Curzon tried to interpret the promises in a highly illiberal manner. But these words are clear and expressive enough:--"In their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our reward." The Proclamation ends with a prayer:--"May the God of all power grant us and those in authority under us strength to carry out those our wishes for the good of our people." Lord Morley may have thought of useful reforms to carry out these wishes and he has now the opportunity of introducing them. Both the reports regarding DECENTRALISATION and the formation of Advisory Councils are now before him. May the God of all power grant him strength to redeem the pledges given by the Proclamation.

The Loyal Celebration in Madras.

33. Referring to the arrangements made for the Loyal Celebration in Madras, the VEERAKESARI, of the 30th October, observes that the day fixed for the celebration is the 50th anniversary of the Queen's Proclamation which gave certain pledges to the people. It said: "We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations ~~ourselves bound to the~~ of duty which bind us to all our other subjects and those obligations, by the

blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil. All other colonies of England have already obtained self-government. But in India alone whoever advocates self-government is deemed a seditionist. Mr.Gladstone, Lords Ripon and Metcalfe all encouraged Indian aspirations for self-government. and admitted that the duty of the British consisted in training the Indians in the art of self-government and eventually granting them that privilege. But the viceroys during the past few years have come to think very lightly about the Proclamation and regard it as something done merely to throw dust into the eyes of the Indians. It is not clear why the leaders of the Madras public have arranged to celebrate the jubilee of such a Proclamation. Is it to curry favour with the Anglo-Indians? Or, is it to remind the administrators that they have not fulfilled their pledges?

<u>For the week ending 14th November 1908.</u>

<u>No. 46 of 1908.</u>

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY NATIVES.

II.HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(b) Courts.

The SWARAJ sedition case

1. The HINDU, of the 9th November writes:--". . . . . The judgment of the learned Sessions Judge would give unalloyed satisfaction to all fair-minded men. The ends of justice have been amply realised by the conviction and the sentences inflicted. There is no denying the fact that the articles which formed the subject of the charges against the accused, if they were with the writers thereof, far exceeded the bounds of all legitimate criticism and comment, but the paper in which they appeared was an ephemeral production. Both the accused are men of education, especially the second who is a Master of Arts and they are said to have tendered an unqualified apology to the Government at the commencement of the criminal proceedings. Under such circumstances, the Government would have acted gracefully and would have been

well advised in withdrawing proceedings against them on their publishing such an apology as the circumstances required. It was, no doubt, upon a due consideration of all the circumstances surrounding the cases that the learned Judge queried the Public Prosecutor when he rose to address the Court for the Prosecution, why the Government did not proceed in this case under section 108-A of the Criminal Procedure Code as they did in the case of Mr.G.Subramania Aiyar. The Public Prosecutor cannot naturally be expected to answer such a question without specific instructions and he said he was unable to do so. It is indeed refreshing to find that a Sessions Judge belonging to the same race as Mr. Justice Dawar, has taken a sane and a commonsense view of this class of cases. Mr.Kershaspji showed his clear discernment of law and of the justice of the case by his rigorous exclusion in the course of the trial of the mass of irrelevant evidence which the prosecution endeavoured to support itself with. The learned Sessions Judge's final judgment is one which will we hope, act as an eye opener to all his brethren in the judiciary in this country, high and low. A fair, judicial-minded and sensible way of dealing with offenders would go much farther to maintain the dignity of law, the majesty of justice and the prestige of the Government than panic-stricken convictions and frenzied sentences."

The INDIAN PATRIOT, of the 10th November, writes:--". . . . In regard to the question of punishment it is needless to say that the sentences passed by the learned Judge show a due sense of proportion, and will be received by Indian public opinion with entire approval and satisfaction. Nodoubt, there have been sentences of varying severity; and some of the sentences in the Presidency have been of a shocking character. But the nature of the case, the position of the accused, the ephemeral existence of the paper, are all circumstances which clearly call for moderation; moreover, the accused in sedition cases are not burglars, dacoits, and cut-throats. There may be Judges who consider that there can be no adequate punishment for sedition without excessive severity. But severity which causes a revalsion of popu-

lar feeling is mistaken in its aim. Not one of the recent sentences can be said to have met with public approval, however much those who inflicted them may deem them appropriate; and Mr.Judge Kershap has, for once, made a much-needed departure by way of adapting punishment to popular sense of proportion. Nine and six months' confinement in jail is not, after all, an inconsiderable punishment; and those who are subjected to it are no more likely to be tempted to commit sedition than others who have been punished with transportation. A trial and conviction are in themselves sufficient deterrents in the case of all but determined criminals; and excessive severity can but embitter the minds of those who are affected by it without in any degree improving this feeling of the citizen in them."

2. The INDIAN PATRIOT, of the 14th November, remarks:--". . .

The INDIA sedition case.

Mr.Justice Mundo's charge in the INDIA case yesterday places the offences of sedition over ordinary feelings of enmity such as may be inferred from hostile criticism of every kind. As a political offence it must be taken in a political sense, and so taken it must amount to exciting feelings of disloyalty to Government. His Lordship explained disloyalty as a disposition to desire another Sovereign or Government and not to obey or support the existing Sovereign or Government. That is intelligible enough. Disaffection, hatred, and contempt, as mentioned in the section, all indicate this disposition which alone will constitute disloyalty or sedition. Another helpful observation that fell from his Lordship was that 'if the general tone of any one of the articles was consistent with loyalty, they should not condemn it because of hasty or strong expression," and that 'if the spirit of the article was disloyal, while the jury might not base their judgment on isolated passages, they must nevertheless give to each part its proper value, and try as best they could in a liberal and generous spirit to arrive at the drift of the

article.' Both observations lay down sound principles, and any jury that observe them cannot go far wrong in judging any writing or speech which is contended to be seditious. And supplying them to the INDIA case, it cannot be seriously urged that the publication did not transgress the limits of the law.

"The main plea on behalf of the accused was that he was only a namelender for the sake of the Press Registration Act, that he had no responsibility for the actual editing and publishing of the paper. This plea, of course, could not prevail except for mitigation of the sentence. The object of the Press Registration Act is defeated if people are to lend their names with the hope of escaping their responsibility. It is quite possible that in this case the accused was not his own master, and that he had for the sake of his livelihood to bear responsibility for things which, if left to himself, he might not have permitted to be punished; and we believe that to a certain extent he struggled between the extreme views of the paper and his appointment on it. But it is not quite clear why he became proprietor of the journal if he did not mean to really own it. Whatever doubt may be felt on that point, the sentence of five years' transportation is excessive in its severity; and but for similar sentences in other cases lately, it would be quite exceptional. The imprisonment of threex years or less or fine prescribed in the section seems tohave no practical applicability to sedition. For what kind of cases such lesser penalties are intended the minimum which the Hingh Court has hitherto fixed does not enable one to know.

"Another matter which compels a word of comment is the composition of the jury which consisted of eight Europeans and one Indian. The Crown challenged seven out of the nine Indians who had been summoned; one, when called, was absent, and the remaining one was not challenged. We have before expressed our strong disapproval of the Crown exercising the right of challenge on racial lines; and when it is exercised as against the maximum eight, allowed by the code, out of nine jury men summoned for the trial, the accused is deprived even of the chance of getting

more than one Indian juror. If the Crown is to challenge only Indian jurors, more Indian jurors than nine might be summoned. As it is, trial by jury to an Indian accused is not a privilege, but a disability."

The HINDU, of the 14th November, says:--"~~Six~~ Five years' transportation for the accused in the INDIA sedition case which was condluded yesterday, is a sentence of as much enormity as was that of transportation for life for Chidambram pillai awarded by Mr. Pinhey. The Judges of the Madras High Court have established quite a record in the matter of heavy sentences in sedition cases. In Mr.Chidambaram Pillai's case, which was tried in a District Sessions Court, there was the right givan by law of an appeal to the High Court, which in confirming the conviction modified the sentence to one which, though still excessive, is less repugnant to reason and humanity than was the original sentence. In yesterday's case, the accused is not given the right of appeal, either against verdict of the jury or the exceedingly harsh sentence of the Judge. The accused is subjected to all the disabilities which the system of trial by jury entails upon him without having had any of its chief benefits. The advantage of a trial by jury consists in the accused being tried by his compeers, men who may be expected to bring the accused being tried by his compeers, men who may be expected to bring to bear in their judgment a thorough comprehension of the case, of the evidence adduced and of all antecedent and surrounding circumstances relating to the charge against the accused. In the INDIA sedition case, the case was tried by a jury composed of eight Europeans and one Indian, who is a Government official. The jury thus composed was not empannelled by accident. In the list of special jurors, the names of Europeans preponderate over those of Indians. In the present case, when the names of jurors were called out for forming the panel, the Crown prosecutor challenged the names of seven Indians, two of whom were editors of local journals, of much experience and knowledge in the journalistic line, and according to the true import of the jury system of trial, about the best fitted

persons to sit on the jury in this case. The defence, in its turn, challenged ~~was composed of eight Europeans and one Indian~~ the names of eight persons, who are Europeans, and after the fullest exercise of the right of challenge on behalf of the accused, the jury empannelled was composed of eight Europeans and one Indian official. It must be borne in mind that the articles which formed the subjects of the indictment for sedition were in the vernacular, which is a foreign language to the eight jurors, as well as to the presiding Judge. The offence of seditie was sought to be made out by some of the articles imputing partiality and prejudice by the British Government's alleged ~~failu~~ failure to deal even-handed justice between Europeans and Indians. The former were somewhat offensively referred to in them as Feringhees, whites and so forth. Under such circumstances we t think that a system of criminal trial which makes possible the case being tried and adjudged by eight Europeans without any provision for appeal, and concluding with so heavy a punishment as five years' transportation, needs to be reformed, if the administration of justice is to ensure thorough public confidence.
We feel no doubt that the jurors in the present case acted from honest convictions in giving their verdict, and the fact that the summing up of the learned Judge was in the main in favour of conviction shows, that the whole Court, the Judge and ~~a~~ the jury, gave their opinions upon their apprehension of the merits of the case. We cannot but think, however, that the ~~summing-up~~ importance and gravity of the case have been greatly over estimated by those responsible for the various stages, from the moment of the institution of the prosecution down to the awarding of the sentence. . . . . The accused denies that he was the writer of the articles at all. He is, according to the evidence, a man of no means, was doing the business of a clerk of manager in office, and he is not of sufficient education to have been the writer of the articles complained of. If instead of allowing the paper to go on for four months writing inflammatory articles, Government had warned the proprietor of the peril he was incurring,

~~mr~~

or had at once taken proceedings as it was bound to do under section 108-A, the springs of 'Sedition' would have dried up instantaneously, the evilwould not have assumed the proportions which the Crown alleges that it had, and the accused would not have been made to suffer so severe a penalty. We cannot, indeed, conceive an explanation as to why when the Government took the course we have have pointed out, though at a rather late stage in the case of Mr.G.Subramania Aiyar, an experienced and veteran journalist, they should have pressed the prosecution in regard to this young man, to the furthest extreme, and have instructed the Crown Prosecutor to ask for an exemplary sentence after conviction. The circumstances of this case, as disclosed in the evidence for the defence and the position of the accused, were such as to call for lenient and humane dealing. Both the Government and the learned Judge, who has sentenced him so heavily, have failed to appreciate the actual circumstances. The Council for the defence, who is an able, experienced and conscientious Advocate, placed his client's case before the Court in as clear and convincing a form as could be put. The sentence of five years' transportation isno doubt one regarding which it may be said, 'the law allows it'. But that is all that can be said for it."

(k) General.

4. The WEDNESDAY REVIEW, of the 11th November, writes:--

The coming reforms

". . . . . Everything points to the inauguration of a policy in administration which must go far towards strengthening the bond between England and India and make the two peoples love and respect each other better. As we have said, in writing on this subject, we have no definite details to go upon and we can only make a general forecast of the coming reforms with the aid of more or less authentic reports and telegrams. Last week Reuter wired that according to the DAILY MAIL the reform proposals included the formation of a Council of Indian chiefs, the appointment of an Indian to the impending vacancy on the Executive

Council, an increase of the Indian element in Provincial Councils, and the extension of the scope of the latter. Though there is nothing definite about the information conveyed by the telegram, the omission of any reference to the much-talked of Advisory Council is at once significant and reassuring. The practical disappearance of the Advisory Council from the scheme will give universal satisfaction here, and our only wonder is how it came to be conceived at all by the Government of India. A more ludicrous and unworkable proposal we had never come across. That a body of men should be called into existence for the purpose of advising the Government on grave problems of public policy, whose only qualification for so responsible a task consisted in their owning a regulation number of acres, is a suggestion, the absurdity of which must be patent to even the meanest intellect. Those landed magnates, as they are called, have never taken any appreciable interest or part in public affairs and they certainly lack that amount of education and culture which would befit them to assume the rank of political advisers. Unless the Government meant it has a big joke we can never understand the utility or purpose of calling into existence such an incompetent body of men. . . . Regarding the appointment of an Indian to the Executive Council of the Viceroy and the extension of the scope of the Provincial Councils, we may rest assured that they will be accomplished facts before long and that they will satisfy the hopes of the educated classes, which they have been cherishing all these years. Meanwhile, we trust the responsible leaders will strengthen the hands of Lord Morley by expressing themselves on the subject fairly and fully and stating in clear terms what the Secretary of State and the Parliament have to do in popularising British rule in India and giving effect to the pledges and promises made in the two Proclamations in a spirit of broadmindedness and sympathy towards the people of this country."

VI. MISCELLANEOUS.

5. The INDIAN PATRIOT, of the 9th November, writes:--The attempt to murder Sir Andrew Fraser, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, last Saturday in broad day light by a young Bengalee lad, is the latest sensation from that side, and it will create horror and dismay in every human heart which has not been vitiated by fanaticism and a passion for dastardly revenge. This incident, details of which appear in our telegraph columns, brings back, with renewed vigour, the old question as to the extent of the are to-day the bane of Bengal, and which we so strongly criticised last Saturday.

Attempt to shoot the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal.

"We would like to see, side by side with the police, the people exerting themselves to turn out this character out of doors. Bengalis, as a nation, are as high and as noble as ever; but, in times of panic and terror like this, more of them are apt to be suspected than would be right or just. The average Englishman will be tempted to see the anarchist in every Bengali he meets for, we all know, that he knows very little of the people, and the little that he does know now is so damagingly against them. Sometime ago, when a wave of police hooliganis, burst in Calcutta, and the official enquiry did not satisfy the mind of the people, they appointed a non-official commission, took evidence, and conducted investigations in a way which was both admirable and well organised. If the educated public of Bengal could direct their activity towards exterminating this new character, which as much discredits the province of Bengal as it discredits the continent of India, they would be taking a step which would have the sanction and blessing of the whole world. But the question will be asked, and it is asked with acuteness in Bengal ~~is one of the most difficult problems before the Government.--I~~ to-day how respectable men can co-operate with the police as it is. There is one of the most difficult problems before the Government. If they suspect the people they make a mistake. But they cannot help suspecting a crowd from which a lad could rush, revolver in hand, and shoot the Ruler of the Province. And when the people

are suspected, and know they are suspected, they will not have that enthusiasm to help the Government, although they know that to help the Government is to help themselves. The Bengalis know it as well as anybody else, that the hand that turns against the Ruler to-day may turn against the leader to-morrow, and they would rightly abhor the man who seeks to destroy life. But if respectable men would shudder to go to court as witnesses, simply because it entails difficulties, they would shudder to exert themselves to find the anarchists, because it entails not difficulties alone, but danger. And unless a strong man is at the helm, who would make a bold effort, taking the people into his confidence and curbing the police also a little, things are apt to grow from bad to worse.

The MADRAS STANDRAD? of the 10th November, writes:--"~~Though~~ Throughout India the news of the attempt on Sir Andrew Fraser's life, which our Calcutta correspondent reports in his telegrams published elsewhere, will be read with intense horror and indignation. . . . . . Sir Andrew Fraser has been, and will continue to be, the receipient of the greatest sympathy and the most sincere congratulations from all classes of people. He had a miraculous escape at which everyone, who is not a criminal lunatic, will rejoice. Subsequent reports of the antecedents of the mand and other particulars connected with this occurence point to the conclusion that anarchism of the continental type exists in Bengal though no one is able to localise it. It is ~~in-the-pr~~ reported that these men have adopted the methods of the European anarchists in the prosecution of their ~~xx~~ dark purpose. Under the circumstances then it is the duty not only of the Government in Bengal but still more of the people of Bengal to exert themselves to the utmost to unearth the plot and give the conspirators over to the just vengeance of the law. Without the active co-operation of the people no police, however vigilant and active, can eradicate the evil and exterminate the pest and free society of its dangerous foes. It must beborne in mind that anarchists are the enemies not only of one country or one ~~x~~ race, but of the whole humanity and of the civilised world.

In this land of Rishis and sages noted for its deep piety and its tenderness and humanity nothing of the kind, no upas tree of poison, endangering the peace and security of the whole social fabric, should be permitted to grow. We, Indians, owe to it to ourselves and to the country which has given us birth to free the country from this new plague of humanity and make the path of social, material and political progress easy and rapid by means of constitutional efforts."

The WEDNESDAY REVIEW, of the 11th November, writes:--"The attempted assassination of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal must send a thrill of horror throughout the country and at the same time every heart will rejoice that the attempt failed so happily and so miraculously. It is impossible to dismiss to it merely as an act of a stray fanatic committed in the moment of madness. We cannot do so in the face of the fact that the assassin is respectably connected and has apparently received a decent education. There is also the fact that it is not for the first time that the country is startled by such an attempt. Within the course of these one years crimes of this kind have been heard of more than once, and the only conclusion we are aompelled to draw is that there must be a secret society working out its disbolical plans and making a cats' paw of impulsive young men. Else we cannot suppose that the youth of 18 who rushed at Sir Andrew Fraser at a public meeting that the youth of 18 who rushed at Sir Andrew Fraser at a public meeting with a loaded revolver in hand did so out of any personal spite or grievance against His Honour. He must have been taught to believe that Sir Andrew was an enemy to the country and he must be sacrificed in its interest and anybody who undertook the deed would cover himself with glory. We dare say that fuller particulars about the incident will be forthcoming and we willbe in a position to judge of the extent of the anarchical plot which may be in existence. Meanwhile it would be rank folly to make a hero of the young man and try to discover patriotic motives behind the devilish act. A great deal of mischief is being done by irresponsible writers who with strange fatuity set to discussing

such deeds in the abstract, as if the criminals concerned were so many heroes of romance, deserving our sympathy if not our admiration. When an inexcusable crime of this kind is committed it is the duty of every right-minded man to condemn it in the strongest manner possible and if he cannot aid in bringing the criminal to justice, he may at least refrain from indulging in sickly and foolish sentiments about him. This tendency to confound anarchism with patriotism will result in untold mischief to the country. The Government and the people must make common cause and root out an evil which is certainly a disgrace to a country which has never in its glorious history advocated bloodshed as a means to any end and least of all towards the attainment of some temporal and fleeting good. The people of India have never failed to remember 'how small of all that human hearts endure, that part which laws or kings can cause or cure' and why should they now forget so satisfying a consolation of life?"

Further outrages in Calcutta

6. Commenting on the murder of Inspector Nando Lal Banerjee, the INDIAN PATRIOT, of the 11th November, writes:--". . . . .Throughout Calcutta there must be a growing sense of unsafety, and no man can feel himself safe when there are fanatics about, ready to wreak vengeance on men against whom they may have a real or imaginary grievance. All the outrages perpetrated in Bengal recently have been by young men who, when possible, make good their escape after accomplishing their task. Suddenly some one is shot, and the assassin disappears. Even the fate of those who have been caught, convicted and hanged has apparently had little effect. On the other hand, even the infliction of death penalty seems to make the brood more determined in their revenge. Is this to go on, adding perpetual terror to life in Bengal? The fact is very significant that two thousand people attended the funeral of the young man who was hanged yesterday for the murder of Gossain, and that the boys walked bare-footed,

risking even dismissal from their schools and colleges. There is no doubt whatever that these young men have got into an awful frame of mind; and they present a problem which it is necessary early to attempt to solve. The methods hitherto employed have failed to produce the intended effect; and the situation seems to get worse. A serious consideration of the matter in consultation with Bengalee leaders is urgently called for as to how these desperate youths can be brought under control, and how their minds can be influenced in a better direction. As far as those youths are concerned who have actually perpetrated or participated in crime, they will be duly punished. But their example seems to infect the minds of other young men, and this has to be prevented as early as possible. What is it that embitters the minds of these youths so much? Have they any grievances of their own, apart from general political matters such as the partition? Is there any reason to think that they have been subjected to particularly bad treatment?. . . . It is a serious problem when the youth of a country becomes animated with a feeling akin to that which has found expression in the murder of Gossain and the Police Inspector, and in the attempt on Sir Andrew Fraser. Arrests, prosecutions, and the severest punishments have all been tried; and it seems necessary to do something in addition to arrest what looks like a growing evil."

War with anarchists.

7. Referring to the recent outrages in Calcutta, the INDIAN PATRIOT, of the 12th November, says:-- ". . . . . There will be only one desire, and that is to stamp out the evil at any cost. This is surely no time to pause and think why such atrocities are committed, but to crush the villains at one blow and then consider the why and the wherefore. As we said yesterday, it is a serious problem when young men turn blood-thirsty and are full of bloody idess, and the sooner that is solved the better. We cannot afford to have our young men, who are the pride and stay of our country, to turn lawless murderers and midnight assassins; and we have no doubt it

will engage the attention of both the parents and the Government. But, at the same time, it is very necessary that whatever is done is done, not in defiance of public opinion, but in harmony with it. The Hon'ble Radha Charan Pal, when interviewed by an EMPIRE representative, said that the dastardly outrage on the Lieutenant-Governor had roused the Bengali community into the greatest pitch of indignation against the anarchists, 'but', said he, 'there is a strong to that is inevitable. Educated Bengalhated the anarchists as much as they hate the extreme steps that those who are paid to book the anarchists resorted to in Midnapoor. The agragrian trouble in Champaran is one which appeals strongly to public sympathy, and the Bengal Government made a mistake when they gave the reins to the local authorities. The Government must as much discourage panic as they suppress the 'Anarchist,' and steer midway with coolness on the one side, and firmness on the other. The feeling that is to-day in the public mind is that any disturbance, be it the most innocent, is likely to be attributed to the worst crime, and to result in the house search. It ought to be in the mind of the local authorities, that if they allow themselves to be in a 'panic' and go to extremes, they will never be tolerated by the Government. That will give confidence to the people whose co-operation is very necessary in matters like this. And, as for the youths, they must be placed under sympathetic teachers such as Mrs. Besant described the other day, who could take a scorpion in their hand and knock out its venom. Bengal young men, we are told, are not having that freedom which they once had in their colleges and the country, and it is a mistake if such a feeling should be allowed to grow. Mrs.Besant's lecture came in good time, and the truths that she has to say, will, it is hoped, appeal to the authorities."

The Indian National Congress

8. The MADRAS STANDARD, of the 14th November, contains the following leader:--"If what has taken place in Calcutta can be taken as an indication of what the Congress proposes to do, we may say that the Congress is still in a liquid or disorganised state. But we have our own doubt whether the anxiety shown

by a few Extremists in Calcutta and in Poona for an immediate compromise is shared by other congressmen elsewhere, whose views are entitled to weight and respectful consideration. With the exception of a few in the localities specified, no congressman has evinced any desire for the undoing of the work of the Convention and for effecting a reconciliation between the two parties. No man can challenge the assertion that the attempts for union have all been made by the gentlemen who were responsible for the collapse at Surat and their followers. No Constitutionalist or Moderate has ever taken upon himself the task of bringing about a union between the party to which he belongs and the party opposite. With the exception of two or three Constitutionalists in Bengal, who have recently, shown an inclination to discuss the question of compromise with the Extremists, no responsible Moderate in any part of the country has come forward with any constructive proposal or scheme upon the basis of which the old Congress may be revived. The Moderates as a body, in nearly all provinces, have stood sternly and silently aloof in spite of the heroics of the AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA and the MARATTA. Neither the Committee of the Convention nor any other Congress body has ever taken up the suggestions for compromise so profusely offered by the spokesmen of the Extremist party. Nor has the threat of another Congress disturbed the equanimity or the resolution of any Constitutionalist worth the name. Of course we shall be told that it is lack of patriotism, or want of political insight or a self-imposed vow of slavery which makes the Constitutionalists remain firm and immoveable, as if patriotism, political sagacity and love of liberty were the exclusive property of those who shouted down Mr.Surendranath Banerjee and rushed the platform at Surat. So far as we have been able to gauge public opinion the Constitutional congressmen have resolved that in the truest and best interests of the country, it is better and more in keeping with the spirit of progress to carry on political agitation on certain definite and approved lines and in consonance with the needs and wants of the country. The line of action they have chosen for themselves lies through the broad, open and straight

road of constitutionalism, and it does not in the least matter to them whether others, whose methods are different, pursue a different course and keep up an organisation of their own. It is the conviction fix of the Moderates that after a fruitless wandering in the howling wilderness of impatient idealism, the Idealists will come back and take their places among their old political comdades of the Moderate persuasion.

In the face of these facts and possibilities we do not think that the various proposals made for an effective reconciliation will be received with approval by the Moderates. . . . ."

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

I. FOREIGN POLITICS.

SWARAJ and BANDE MATARAM

11. The SHAMS-UL-AKHBAR, of the 9th November, says that the paper called BANDA MATARAM, of the 29th Octoberx last, has the following notification:--

It has "We put off issuing the paper for various reasons till the case against us under the Press Act is decided."

It has the following as regards SWARAJ;--

"We believe only one thing, we shall have tied to us a rope wi strap to protect our life during this cyclone, and it will also protect x us from the waves which are rising in this land. The reason why such self-sacrificing endeavours are made in India is to revive this dead land, and as to this we sincerely believe and intend that in order to revive in India its old life and glory the fighting should continue. SWARAJ is that strap, SWARAJ are the ships, SWARAJ is the star, SWARAJ is the guide.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(b) Courts.

15. With reference to the sentence of death passed on SATHYENDRANATH BOSE, one of the alleged murderers of the approver,

The conviction of Dayhyendra nath Bose.

Narendranath Gossain, the INDIA, of the 31st October, observes:-- This case was tried before a jury, the mojority of whom pronounced a verdict of "not guilty." In the country of the whites, the accused should have been acquitted in a cast like this. But the law they have established for us is quite different from what obtains in their own country. Unlike the law of other countries, the High Courts here can reject the verdict of a jury. Even in this country, the High Courts never used to reject the verdict of a jury declaring the accused "not guilty", ~~the and ex~~ in cases in which Europeans are accused of having murdered Indians. For one to be sentenced to death, the jury must give a unanimous verdict of "guilty" and even if a majority of the jury pronounce a verdict of "guilty", the accused should be sentenced only to transportation and not to eath. In this case, when the majority of the jury gave a verdict of "not guilty" the Sessions Judge should have at once acquitted the accused. Instead of this, he not only sentenced the accused to death but even got his sentence confirmed by the High Court. Every one will say that this is not at all a case in which a sentence of death ought to have been passed. But the justice of the world is quite different from the justice obtaining in British India. Being slaves, we cannot obtain justice anywhere.

(k) General.

16. The INDIA, of the 31st October, publishes a cartoon in which the Anglo-Indian official wrings an asseveration of loyalty to the

The present condition of India

British King from the Indians, after having previously gagged and hand-cuffed them, so that they might not be in position to complain of the present famished and afflicted condition of India, and says:-

What is the use of thus wrigging a declaration of loyalty at the point of the lance? In the Queen's Proclamation issued 50 years back, she stated that in the prosperity of her subjects would be the strength of her Kiggdom and that in their contentment would be her reward. It is feeling of this kind that denote real loyalty among the people. But how is it possible for one to give up a fruit, after once ~~xxx~~ tasting it, even though it may be the property of another?

The English authorities and the popular leaders.

17. The INDIA, of the 31st October, writes:--Credit should, indeed, be given to the English authorities for their mental strength because any other man in their position would have been unnerved and perplexed by this time. They are not in a position to place complete confidence on any one in British India. For example, almost all the people of Bengal belong to the new party. ~~Xxrxx~~ Babu Surendranath Banerjea is the only man who is still a Moderate, having publicly approved of the creed of the conventionists. But still the Government cannot place complete confidence in him toop for it was he who was the originator of the SWADESHI activity in Bengal, who instilled the idea of liberty into the minds of the people by delivering lectures in various places and who raised a hue and cry in the country against the partition of Bengal. He is now one of the chief workers in the cause of SWADESHISM. He stated some time back that the Government itself was the cause of the recent bomb outrages. Such being the case, how can the Government trust him? Then, again, Lala Lajpat Rai, who was considered to be a Moderate while here, has now joined Bipin Chandra Pal, in London and thus become one of the open seditionists. Worst of all, Sir Mancherjee Bownagiri, a most loyal subject of the British King, has delivered a speech recently along with Bipin Chandra Pal about the condition of the Indians in the Transvaal and about this fact the MADRAS TIMES says: "Even the shadow of seditionists like Bipin Chandra Pal should not fall on persons like Bownagiri. But now they have both spoken about

the same subject in the same place and held the same view! What has it come to?" Really it has become impossible to point out even one man, among these thirty crores of black uncivilised people, as a true and loyal subject of the British King! What a pity!

The British administration in India.

18. The NYAYABHIMANI, of the 5th November, writes:--The duty of the King of a country is to see that all his subjects live happily without any kind of trouble and not to wring from them and take away all that they have, without caring in the least for their welfare. But the British Government, which has been ruling India, has been treating its subjects as slaves, without caring in the least for their troubles and losses, and trying to ruin the country by filling all the responsible appointments with its own men. What is the present income of this Government when compared with that thirty years back? How many taxes have been newly imposed within these thirty years? Nearly one crore of the people in India are having only one meal and many of these have been reduced to this condition only because of their inability to meet the various taxes imposed by the Government. Is it not the duty of a just Government to enquire into all this?

The attempt to shoot the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal

19. With reference to the attempt recently made to shoot the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 10th November, observes:--We extremely regret to hear of the attempt that was recently made by a Bengalee youth to shoot Sir Andrew Fraser, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. Though it is a consolation to all that His Honour had a narrow escape and that the culprit, now in the custody of the Police, will surely be punished according to law, the whole of India should view with sorrow and anxiety the fact that the people in Bengal who commit such horrible crimes have not yet been rooted out. That

such atrocities should be committed without fear or forethought, even after the Government and the Police have punished such ruffians and the country as a whole has begun to abhor them, does ~~not~~ not forebode a good time for India. When there are several constitutional ways by which we can represent to the Government whatever causes of discontent we may have against it and get them removed, what are we to think of those stupid souls who want to do good to the country by adopting the cruel methods of the nihilists of the west? No good had come out of the deeds of these nihilists in Russia, ~~Itlay~~ Italy, Spain and other countries, and what good can they do in India? They will only cause unnecessary rancour and hatred and impede even the advatages we may gain by lawful means. While we should be grateful to the British Government for its having promised to grant greater privileges to the Indians, which promise has been confirmed by the recent message from the King, to attempt murders at this juncture can only be the work of traitors to the country. It is the first duty of all of us not only to root out all these traitors, but also to prevent altogether the recurrence of such horrible ideas which are quite contrary to the nature of the Indians.

20. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 11th ~~Septemb~~ November, writes:--

The present condition of Bengal.

We spoke only yesterday of the horrible attempt that was made to shoot the Lietutenant-Governor of Bengal, and we are sorry to learn to-day of another horrible occurrence in Bengal, viz., the murder of an Inspector of Police, by name Nundolal Banerjea . If events like these become so easily possible, every one, whether an official or not, will have ever to be afraid of his life and the peace and progress of the country will be greatly disturbed. Those who shoot the officials to-day may to-morrow shoot those who, in their opinion, uphold the officials, and if this is to continue, none can regard his life as safe. For the last two years the Government of Bengal had enough to do in trying to break up

the associations of these budmashes and get them punished according to their crimes. This state of things should not be allowed to continue long in any civilised country. The British who are conducting the Government with vigour and foresight, should crush this at once, as otherwise it may greatly impede and endanger their high ideals. As the London Times and the STATESMAN suggest, the best way will be to adopt a summary procedure in cases of this kind and the people also will not raise any objection to it. But we are not sure whether by adopting this method the murderous deeds and the secret societies which organise them will become things of the past. Lord Minto and Lord Morley should come to a speedy decision. The state of mind of the Bengalees may be said to be the cause of the present dangerous condition of the country, and it is well worth a trial to see if this cannot be changed by Lord Morley reconsidering his decision that the partition of Bengal is "a settled fact."

VI. MISCELLANEOUS.

An impertinent suggestion by an Australian official

22. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 7th November, says:--One Doctor Richard Arthur, an official in Australia, has made an impertinent suggestion in the papers that the Indian Civil Service Examination should be held in Australia itself for the benefit of the Australian youths. Is our readers know, this is a competitive examination held every year in London to choose candidates for certain higher appointments in India, and any British subject, whether he be an Englishman, a Colonial or an Indian, can apply for this examination. Though the rule is that any successful candidate in this examination should be provided with certain appointments in India, the majority of these appointments are given only to British youths, because it is possible only for a small number of Indians to go to London to compete for this examination. Though the Colonials also have this disadvantage, it will not affect them so badly owing to the similarity in language, customs and

habits between them and the British. Thus it happens that a great many appointments under our Government, the salaries of which are paid from our revenue, are held xx by xxx the British youths. Repeated requests have been made by our people to the British Government to remove this real grievance and many British ministers in the past have oftentimes promised to do so. Even in the recent Royal Message, a promise has been held out that the difference which now exists, in this respect, between the British and the Indians will be gradually removed as the latter advance in education, experience and capability. All the same, the request of our leaders like Sri Dadabhai Nowroji that the Civil Service Examination should be held in India alone, for the benefit of the Indian youngsters, is yet to be granted. Such being the case, this Richard Arthur not only wants this examination to be held in Australia but also adds tha, as a return for this concession, Australia will be prepared to help England with twenty thousand troops to x quall any riot that may occur in India. What impertinenee! When we cannot get eertain appointments in our country, these Australians, who hate us and who would not allow our people even to set foot on their soil, want to have them! It seems they will help the British if a riot occurs in India! As if the British cannot quell a riot in India without extraneous help! Perhaps Richard Arthur thought that the Indians were inferior even to the race of Bushmen who do slavish services in his country! But we are glad that statesmen like Lord Morley are not in need of the advice of men of this stamp in conducting the Government of India.

Mrs.Besant and the Indian students.

23. With reference to the "Sons of India" society recently started by Mrs.Annie Besant the INDIA, of the 31st October, remarks:- The object of this society is announced to be to prevent the spread of seditious ideas among the students of the land and to change the current of their new aspirations into good channels.

A very laudable object indeed! But the first issue of the "Sons of India," a paper published by this society, has confirmed our suspicion that, being an English woman, she would avail herself of this opportunity to inculcate to the Indian youths some false ideas in the interest of the English authorities; for in the very first page of this paper we see the following poisonous advice given to the Indian students:--

"The system of self Government may be broadened. But the Indians cannot hope to have compete independence for many centuries and it is doubtful if it will ever come to pass. Even if it does, it is only harmful, because it is better that all the nations of the world form a federation, dependent upon each other, than that one nation should enjoy an isolated independence."

We do admit that it is better that all the nations of the world form a federation of States. But we do not see why on this principle India should put a stop to her attempt for liberty. If the federation that Mrs.Besant speaks of is to be an accomplished fact, the people of every country in the world must become free and and enjoy equal rights and privileges with those of other countries. It is the feeling of affection between equals that can be termed friendship and not that between a slave and his master. It is liberty that leads to equality, and this in turn gives rise to the fraternity of nations. Besides all this, cannot this lady preach this philosophy in England? Why should not this lady go to England and preach to her countrymen that the principle of fraternity does not allow of one nation ruling another despotically and mercilessly? Who is it that now prevents the establishment of mutual equality and dependence among the nations of the world? Who is it that now keeps the Egyptians in a condition of slavery? Who is it that has been preventing Ireland acquiring independence and afflicting the people of the country, keeping them in subjection? Who is it that has heaped innumerable insults upon the land of Bharata, the mother of the world? We are only surprised that she has come to preach her philosophy to us instead of doing so to the nation who has done all this.

The split in the Congress.

24. The INDIA, of the 31st October, observes:--Curzon cut Bengal into two and the people, unable to put up with it, cried out. Mr.Morley, not heeding this, said: "It is a settled fact".

"Similarly Mehta cut the Congress into two and the people cried out and are still crying out that it was an unjust act. V.Krishnaswamy Aiyar and some others declare: "It is a settled fact; it cannot be changed."

Of the two instances of tyranny given above--which is the more cruel?

India and Italy

25. The INDIA, of the 31st October, writes:--There are many points of similitude between the history of this country and that of India. This country was once subject to Austria and afflicted by it in various ways, even as India is now being teased by the Englishmen. But the Italians were in a worse plight than ourselves in one respect and that is that Austria was their neighbour, so that the latter was able to bring its armies into Italy and successfully prevent any attempt on the part of the Italians to obtain liberty. What will be our condition if England were next door to us instead of 4,000 miles off as now? Our readers may remember the mutiny of 1857 during which nearly 20,000 Englishmen fell a prey to the sword of the famour Nana Sahib, a Mahratta Prince, who led the mutineers. To quell this disturbance, troops were sent for from England; but all of them refused to come here and so the Government was not able to bring English troops into India. Thus it is an advantage to us that England is so far off. As is the case in India at present, a new party arose in Italy under the leadership of a patriot called Mazzini, whose object was to redeem the country from a cruel foreign rule. He soon formed an association and began to spread his propaganda among the people by means of newspapers and hand-bills. The Austrian Government soon found that this association was gaining in strength and began to inflict severe punishments on its members.

Our Mazzini was one of those and, while in prison, he conceived the idea of forming a bigger association called "Young Italy" and achieving the independence of his country by the help of such an institution. But as soon as his period of imprisonment expired, he was deported from his country. Still undaunted, he went to France and, with the help of many other deported Italians like himself, organised an association called "Young Italy" and succeeded by steady and strenuous efforts in kindling a deep-seated hatred towards the Austrians and an ardent desire for the establishment of SWRAJ among the people of Italy. At last he had the pleasure of seeing with his own eyes a the accomplishment of his objects and died one year later.

Therefore let us also accomplish our object. If we join together, bear up against all troubles and work hand in hand as brethren, we can gain a victory very soon. If we only compare our true strength--we who are the descendants of great Rishis like Baradwaja and Valmiki--with the poor strength of our enemies which need not be cared for, and if we are prepared unanimously to sacrifice our lives with full confidence, what difficulty can there be in our attaining our ancient lofty position?

The Jubilee of the Queen's Proclamation.

26. With reference to the celebration of the Jubilee of the Queen's Proclamation all over the Madras Presidency, the NYAYABHIMANI, of the 8th November, remarks:--There seems to have been no such celebration in Bengal and what necessity was therefor it in our Presidency? Lord Curzon himself had stated that this Proclamation was simply a document drawn up by the Queen to cheat the Indian people. If such be the case, of what useis it going to benow? We now hear only of sedition, imprisonment and deportation, and what benefit can we derive by celebrating the jubilee of this Proclamation now? So we are sorry our people have spent their time, and money vainly on this.

27. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 12th November says:--It seems one J.L. Armitage, a Britisher in Natal, recently cut off the ears of an Indian servant for having assaulted his wife. As if this was not enough, the Britisher, when he was tried for the offence he had committed, seems to have remarked in his defence that there was nothing wrong in cutting off the ears of a sheep and that an Indian was no better than a sheep. The Magistrate who tried him dmx fined him only £20, even though he criticised his conduct very strongly during the trial. In asmuch as it has come to be thought that the Indians are no better than sheep, it is not their ears alone but every organ of theirs can be cut off. Whatever barbarous and merciless deeds the Colonial British may commit, they will be deemed civilised acts. This news must have reached England as well, and the officials there like the Colonial Secretary and the Secretary of State for India and gentlemen like Lord Ampthill are bound to take note of this occurrence and take immediate steps to remedy the state of affairs in the Colonies. It will really affect the dignity of the British Empire if they fail to do so.

The condition of Indians in the Colonies.

28. The ANDHRAKESARI, of the 6th November, observes:--The Emperor's message has disappointed all our countrymen. His Majesty's message falls short of the historic Proclamation of 1858 in point of political principles and earnestness of purpose. The Liberal Minister, who is the Secretary of State for India, is alone responsible for this Proclamation of 1908. We have to infer from it that the "Conservatism" of the 50 years ago was more liberal than the present Liberalism with all its principles of independence. Some of the recent actions teach us that the Liberalism of the Liberals has languished, that "Imperialism" has poisoned the relation of the two parties in the administration and brought ruin to the welfare of the subjects. The old Proclamation was agreeable to the views of the people. But the present one is

His Majesty the King-Emperor's Message.

dictated by the administrative policy of the Government. It is true that the authors of the Queen's Proclamation were actuated by noble px sentiments and that they zealously extended the privileges of independence to the Indians, as to other people. The word Self-Government (SWARAJ) does not appear anywhere in the present Proclamation. In its place occurs "Representative Institutions". Even such a phrase as the "Government assisted by the representatives of the people" is not mentioned.

Refering to the last paragraphs of the two Proclamation, the paper observes that mutual affection between the rulers and the ruled can be secured only by brotherly feeling and general progress. Such an affection cannot be secured unless the representatives of the people are associated with in the administration of the country. This is the only royal road acceptable to all people.

For the week ending 21st November 1908.

No. 47 of 1908.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY NATIVES.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(b) Courts.

Tilak trial and contempt of Court.

2. The INDIAN PATRIOT, of the 19th November, remarks:--"The Bombay High Court has, without doubt, vindicated its authority, and its power to punish those who write or speak disparagingly ofits Judges. But we are not sure that it ix has done any good to the learned Judge concerned by condescending to take such serious notice of three separate cases of contempt x in connection with the trial of a single case. The last case it disposed of was that of a Sholapur pleader, Mr.Samant, B.A., LL.B., who had presided over a public meeting held to express sorrow and sympathy with Mr.Tilak for the punishment inflicted upon him. Mr.Koyajee, Advocate, who appeared for the accused pleader, tendered an unqualified and unconditional apology for the language of the resolution passed at the meeting over which he had presided, and pointed out

several inaccuracies in the report of the proceedings, upon which action was taken. But in spite of apology and submission, the learned Judges thought it necessary to suspend the pleader from practice for six months. The Chief Justice said that pleaders were a privileged class, whose business was to render assistance to the Courts in the administration of Justice. Their position, training and practice gave them influence with the public; and it was directly contrary to their duty to use that influence for the purpose of bringing the administration of justice into contempt. Mr.Samant owed his position to a sannad issued by this Court; he had invited, and procured at the meeting, nearly one thousand people and passed a resolution contemptuously denouncing or protesting against the conduct of a Judge of this Court, in passing sentence at a trial at the Criminal Sessions. This conduct called for more serious notice than a mere expression of disapproval. All this is perfectly true; but the punishment of irreverent critics will not remove the extremely bad feeling created by what we were compelled to characterise the other day as injudicious. Even High Court Judges have to remember that they must command public respect by avoidance of errors which are liable to misinterpretation; and as regards the Tilak's trial it cannot be said that the presiding Judge was as considerate and careful as he might have been."

(k) General.

Special procedure for political crimes.

4. The MADRAS STANDARD, of the 17th Novemebr, writes:--"The recent dastardly anarchist outrages in Bengal culminating in the attempt on the life of the Lieutenant-Governor have produced in certain quarters a cry for a special procedure to be adopted in the case of political crimes. The ball was set rolling by the LONDON TIMES which criticised severely 'the dilatory procedure of the Indian lower courts.' The cry has been taken up by certain Anglo-Indian papers in this country which are pressing for a summary

method of trial in the case ~~pf~~of political offences. Now we are quite unable to see the reason underlying these suggestions. What is necessary in the interests of justice and public safety is that the real offenders should not escape and that adequate punishment should be meted out to criminals, whether political or non-political. A little reflection will convince any one that it is the certainty and not the swiftness of punishment that acts as a great deterrent of crime. In the case of the anarchist criminals two have already suffered the extreme penalty of the law. One has been already condemned to death and awaits execution. As to dilatoriness in some of the political trials a good deal of it is due to the faults of those conducting the cases and not to any inherent defect in the law. It is, to say the least, imprudent to criticise the administration of law in British India which has been slowly built up by the efforts of lawgivers and judges. . . . . . Is there no risk if the 'sharp and summary' method of procedure advocated in certain quarters be adopted of the innocent suffering with the guilty? The history of the Midnapur trial eloquently preaches the danger of allowing a 'summary' method of procedure. In the Midnapur case many persons were suspected, some of them influential men holding high positions in society. They were kept in confinement for weeks and then at last have been released because there is no evidence against them. One of the informers was a 'durnken debauchee' and he retracted his confession, which, he alleged he was induced to put forth by the police. Now suppose in this case a 'summary' method of procedure had been adopted. What would have been the result? It is hardly necessary to dilate on this point. It is a sound maxim both of law, morality and of high policy that no man should be punished till he is proved to be guilty, that ample investigation should take place and the accused allowed sufficient opportunity to defend themselves. One of the greatest merits of British rule in India and one which is so well and gratefully appreciated by the general public is the impartial administration of the law.

"Where is the necessity for adopting a 'summary' procedure ? There is no rebellion in the land and the outrages that have taken

place are the work of a demented criminal few with which the bulk of the people have not only no sympathy but which they look upon with detestation and abhorrence. Has the ordinary law failed in the case of these anarchists? As we said it has not failed. Those whose crime has been brought home to them have suffered and justly suffered. But in any case it is necessary that there should no risk of the innocent suffering. In the case of criminal trials which affect the general peace of the district, we have the high authority of Sir Harvey Adamson that there is the danger of the subordinate magistracy being unconsciously guided in their judicial work by considerations which are not purely judicial. . . . . What is required is not a 'summary' procedure but a vigorous search for the perpetrators of dastardly crimes and leaving no stone unturned to bring them to book. In this task of putting down anarchism the authorities and the public should join hands. Anarchical crimes the attempts at them such as Bengal has unhappily witnessed of late can never be too severely condemned. We trust that everything will be done to uproot anarchism, a poisonous exotic growth, from Indian soil and every method adopted in the task, barring that which involves the great risk of the innocent suffering with the guilty."

5. The INDIAN PATRIOT, of the 19th November, writes:--

Dark forebodings.

". . . . We sincerely hope that when the Viceroy's executive council meet, it will in no angry or fearful mood~~can~~-angry at the whole Bengali nation for the cowardly outrage attempted on a prominent official, or fearful that when confusion subsides in one place it has risen in another and therefore the movement is a widespread one; and yet no one will blame the Council if it meets in that and passes the severest measures. what we would desire is that

813 they would calmly look before the beyond, carefully gauge public opinion, and see that if they do ~~xx~~ anything it must be what is not calculated to alienate the people further. No one will deny that the position must not grow more difficult. We fear very much that the panic is spreading. Yesterday we had quite a respectable

crop of 'sensations' from our Calcutta correspondent. A SWADESHI preacher was arrested; the house of a respectable pandit was searched; a clerk was arrested and detained in custody; a revolver was found in a house that was searched. No doubt all this is sensational, but it is quite conceivable that the police, when they fail to find any clue to the most desperate, cold-blooded murders, have a right to pursue where their scent leads to, and somehow the police have suspicions against several respectable men. Theinquest into the murder of the Police Inspector had to be postponed for want of evidence, and the police, who will be blamed if they failed to book the culprits, have every right to push on thier investigations. But all the same, the people are surprised, terror-stricken, and think they never deserve such treatment. The leaders who might be expected to know the difficulties of administration, and who could better assuage public feeling by explaining to them these difficulties that face the Government and prepare them for some trials and sufferings, do not feel themselves called upon to do their part by the side of a police officer or a Magistrate who could, at the slightest suspicion, throw them into a cell, put them on the most detestable food, make them bow before a Jail Superintendent, and in every way treat them as a lump of human flesh and nothing more. We publish to-day tales of woe from the Bettiah people, which strike a responsive chord in every Indian heart, and a public-spirited man will, surely, have nothing to do with people who would behave thus towards a silent and sorrowing humanity as the poor tenants of Bettiah. As we go to press we hear that a special court, presided over by a High Court Judge, is to be established to try anarchists; and the decision of this court on such cases will be final."

VI. MISCELLANEOUS.

7. The MADRAS STANDARD, of the 12th November, writes:--

The situation in Bengal.

". . . .Whatever may be the motive of the offence now committed in the heart of Calcutta and however dark the conspiracy which is said to be at the bottom of it, it is well to bear in mind that it is the work of a handful of crazy and desperate young men whose minds seem to have irrecoverably lost their sanity. In a country consisting of three hundred millions of souls, whose loyalty and love of law and order have been proved beyond the possibility of a doubt, the crimes of a handful of mad men should not be made an excuse for stringent measures of repression all round. But sedition and anarchist conspiracies should be put down with a strong hand. To this end the Government and the people must make common cause and exert themselves manfully. The Government will, of course, do their duty, and we appeal to the leaders of the people of all shades of thought to rise to the gravity of the occasion and actively take up the cause of law and order, so that anarchists and seditionists may be hunted down and turned out of the bosom of society. From what Mr.Bhupendranath Bose has written we are sure the Bengalees will do everything in their power to clear their provinces of its enemies and maintain its fair name and fame in their unsullied purity and integrity."

8. Commenting on the recent outrages in Calcutta, the EAST COAST NEWS AND ADVERTISER, of the 19th November, writes:--". . . . We

Benighted Bengal

are afraid this murderous proclivity of young Bengal will continue as long as, as the LONDON TIMES wisely remarks, 'the dilatory procedure of the Indian lower courts and the singular variations of the political sentences' go on. What is most wanted is quick trials, exemplary and deterrent punishments, and the arrest of all suspects. The police force of Bengal is obviously not numerically strong to cope with the additional duties that are being

imposed on it by the murderous assaults, day-light raids and dacoities and the oft-repeated bomb throwing of the Indian anarchist. By increasing the strength of the force and by exercising a greater surveillance over the unruly and treacherous section of benighted Bengal open acts of sedition may be kept under check for some time; but the unrest, which is really at the bottom of the revolutionary doings, is more deep-seated and cannot disappear so easily. It rests with the Government to grant such concessions and privileges that the educated portion of the Indian population has been, laying claim to since the Royal Proclamation of 1858. . . . ."

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

I. FOREIGN POLITICS.

"Are the Indians better than sheep?"

10. The KISTNAPATRIKA, of the 15th November observes:--While it is heart-rending to hear of the horrible political punishments which are inflicted upon our brethren in the Transvaal, the audacity of a "whitefaced" man in cutting the lobe of the ear of an Indian causes much sorrow and provokes our indignation. The name of this Indian is not known. He was punished, some time ago, for assaulting the wife of Mr.Armitage. When the white gentleman was being tried, he said he cut his ear so that he might be identified easily. He defended himself saying that the Government allowed the cutting of sheep's ears and that the Indian was no better than a sheep. At last he was sentenced to a fine of 20 pounds sterling. The Magistrate remarked that a sentence of imprisonment had not been passed on the accused because he thought that he must have been provoked by his (Indian's) assault on his wife a few months ago, and that he had his mind unhinged thereby. There was no medical evidence as to his mental disorder. From this, we can infer what value is attached to the lives of the Indians in the Colonies.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(b) Courts.

The reduction of the sentence passed on Sri Chidambaram Pillai and Siva.

13. With reference to the reduction by the High Court of the sentence passed upon Sri Chidambaram Pillai and Sri Subramania Siva, the INDIA, ofthe 7th November, remarks :--~~Sri Chidambaram Pillai and Sri Subramania Siva, the INDIA, of the 7th November, remarks:~~--Sri Chidambaram Pillai was sentenced to transportation for 20 years and Sri Subramania Siva for 10 years for having preached that we should try to attain SWARAJ by means of SWADESHISM, i.e, boycott of English goods, and this was British justice.

Since the English King is now suing for peace at the hands of the Indian people, the Madras High Court has reduced these punishments to six years in each case, thus tempering the aforesaid justice by sympathy. Orders have been issued to release many thieves and robbers on the birthday of the King as a sign of his sympathy. But as regards the infliction of cruel punishments on great men like Chidambaram and Siva, his sympathy seems to stand still. It is only by such acts as the infliction of six years' transportation for having preached boycott that the stability of the Government will be secured!

The INDIA sedition case.

14. With reference to the conviction of the printer and publisher of the INDIA, the SWADESAMITRAN of the 16th November, remarks:--It has now became quite the order of the day for the Judges inflicting severe punishments on those who are charged with sedition by the Government. No doubt it is very necessary that offenders should be punished. But the Government and the Judges need not show so much severity towards persons charged with sedition, in that these are mostly educated and respectable men. In this case, Mr.Srinivasa Aiyangar was not the man who wrote the seditious articles in the paper and the real proprietor and the editor of the paper

have escaped. The primary responsibility for the crime should never have rested on this man, but for the fact that his name was registered in the office of the Commissioner of Police, and on this ground alone he could have been sentenced to a lighter punishment. Besides, if the Government had warned the paper at the very time when seditious articles began to appear in all other sedition cases, in this case also, the jury consisted mostly of Europeans which was not a fact favourable to the accused. Till now there have been about seven or eight sedition cases in our Presidency, and we are sure the preachers and the editors of papers will be careful hereafter. We hope Lord Minto and Lord Morley will take into consideration the condition of those who have been convicted in these cases and graciously obtain His Majesty's order for releasing them within a short time.

The Karur sedition case.

16. Referring to the sentence passed in the Karur sedition case, the LAWYER, ~~of the~~ for November, observes:--The Judge thinks that the sentence is a light one and that he has passed it onthe recommendation of the assessors, that is, he showed mercy to the accused in awarding him five years' transportation. So, we believe that the court would have inflicted thrice or four times the punishment it has actually awarded, had not the assessors recommended the accused to the mercy of the court. The accused, is lucky enough that the assessors have so recommended.

(k) General.

The Royal Message.

21. While commenting on the King's message received on the day of the Jubilee of the Queen's Proclamation, the INDIA, of the 7th November observes:--As if in reply to the accusation of our leaders through the Congress that the promises contained in the Queen's proclamation have not been carried out in the least, the King has stated in his message; "We have been till now carrying out those promises, and we intend to do so even in the future."

This shows that the promises will be carried out in the future o only in the same way in which it has been done till now. Our friends must have already known that the proposed reforms have been drafted with a view to strengthen the very fetters which the people of British India have been trying to cast off. The statement of Babu Bipin Chandra Pal in a letter of his to Sir Henry Cotton, that the reforms of Lord Morley will only increase instead of abating the discontent of the Indians, is too true.

An occasional visitation of plague or famine may be said to be an act of God; but when it has come to stay in a country, it must only be owing to the fault of the Government of xe the country

It is stated in this message that justice is administered impartially between the Englishmen and the Indians. This is not true. Perhaps the gentleman who drafted this message never used to read the cases often reported in the papers of our country or forgot them altogether just at this moment.

It has not yet been announced as to which prisoners will be released or whose punishments will be reduced. But, as the very fact that innocent patriots have been convicted as ordinary criminals is an a insult to the Indians, these will never forget, it, whatever the authorities may do hereafter.

Let it be granted that the Government now xppxx repairs all the misdeeds done by them to the people. Who is to prevent another Minister repeating all these misdeeds? What is the use of explaining this subject further?

The very existence of a foreign Government is a mistake and an injustice. It is contrary to nature, because the only Government that is suited to human nature and sanctioned by the will of God is SWARAJ. Those that suffer on account of it are eminent men and others are mere xxh chaff. Nothing can be done by Royal messages.

22. The INDIA, of the 14th November reports Mr.Rambhaj Datta Chowdri, a Punjabee patriot now in England, to have assigned the following three reasons for the prevailing feeling of discontent in the Punjab:--

The causes of the discontent in the Punjab.

(1) The first cause is the poverty of the people. There have been 20 famines within the last 40 years and every famine has been reducing the capacity of the people to withstand the effects of another. The people believe that it is the bad intention of the authorities that has brought about these famines and there is some truth even in this blind belief. Thus it is more from the ordinary people than from the educated classes that any danger is to be apprehended. There is danger even with regard to the army. All the sepoys in the Punjab belong to families of agriculturists and a sepoy's salary of Rs.12 per mensem--the income of an ordinary cooly in Lahore--is not sufficient for him, nor can he get any help from his relatives. So he naturally feels discontented.

(2) The Englishmen in India are insulting the Indians in various ways and this is increasing day by day. They usually call an Indian a Negro.

(3) The people have lost their confidence in the Government. Though two Commissions have already sat and submitted their report on the subject of irrigation, nothing has yet been done in that direction. Though this is a very essential thing for the agriculturists, more money is spent on railways than on this.

23. The INDIA, of the 14th November, writes:--Some ignorant people, who have not understood the character of the Englishmen, believed that Tilak and other patriots would be released on the 2nd instant. Even in Madras the people fondly hoped that Arya and others would be let off. These hopes had been entertained by some classes of people for the last few months as a result of the vaunting of certain vain persons that they had seen Morley

The political prisoners in India.

personally and that he symathised with the Indians and promised to order the release of all political prisoners in November. The news published by the English papers greatly confirmed this false belief. But now it has become clear that the political prisoners are not to be released. The Englishmen will never excuse those Indians who desire independence and will never give a sympathetic treatment to those leaders who preach for the good of the people. How many youngsters, not even 20 years old, are rotting in prison for having loved SWADESHISM? It is only God that must extend his Grace towards them, because the Englishmen will never show mercy to them. The sympathy of the English King will only enable thieves and murderers to get off, but not people attached to SWADESHISM.

Corpses of executed criminals

24. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 18th November, writes:--In reply to a question in the House of Commons, Mr.Buchanan is reported to have said that the corpses of executed criminals would not be handed overto the relatives of the deceased if there was reason to apprehend that there would be a demonstration by the people on the removal of the body to the cremation grounds. Yesterday we stated that the Government of India were taking steps to prevent any kind of demonstration during the execution of Sathyendranath Bose and the news of the above reply to-day makes us fear that the Government may make this a rule hereafter. It is said that if the authorities apprehend any kind of demonstration, the body of an executed criminal will not be allowed to be taken out of the compound of the jail. The apprehension of the authorities may or may not be based on reasonable grounds, and making a hard and fast rule as the above will, we fear, not be viewed with satisfaction by the people. The Hindus are accustomed to perform certain ceremonials from time immemorial, and especially in cremation and similar ceremonies, they will insist on performing every detail according to orthodox principles. Therefore the authorities will not be well-advised in meddling in this affair and trying

to cremate the bodies themselves. Nodoubt they will be justified in punishing those who actually create a disturbance while the corpse is carried to the cremation ground; but to prevent the removal of the corpse, merely apprehending such an occurrence, will not be a wise step.

VISVAMITRA and the present Government.

26. Referring to the story of the visit of the King Visvamitra to the forest residence of Vasishta, his request to the latter to give his ~~his~~ Kamadhenu (a mythical cow which supplies allwants) in exchangex for his kingdom, Vaśishta's persistent refusal to part with his cow, Visvamitra's forcible seizure of the cow and the cow's indignation thereat and the consequent destruction of Visvamitra's forces with the help of the armies she immediately created, the HINDU KESARI, of the 23rd October, (received on the 18th November) observes:--Like murderersyou cause various difficulties to Mr.Bal Gangadhar Tilak ~~is xix~~ who is like the saint of old. Can you swear that it is just on your part to do so. Perhaps you think that it will not be requited. Whichever Puranas are examined, it is clearly set forth therein that the chief duty of kings is to treat respectable persons with consideration. But it is quite certain that the cruel deeds you commit do not find mention in connection with any place and any age. O, Feringhees, who govern (the country) persecuting saintly persons, Visvamitra was not actuated by mean motives as you are. Unlike you, who oppress the people, Visvamitra administered his kingdom impartially and very affectionately, levying taxes proportionate to the condition of the people without imposing unjust taxes like you. If, for the mere desire of getting the cow of Vasishta, Visvamitra was subjected to so many difficulties, who can describe the fate of you, who have taken a vow to oppress saintly persons? What did Mr.Tilak write against your Government? Persecuting that saintly person who performs his religious duties regularly and is a great devotee of Siva (one of the gods of Hindu trinity) would only bring about your ruin. Therefore, O, Feringhees!

Ask that saintly person for pardon for the great wrong you did him, and release that "mass of holiness". In ancient days, when Jarásandha (a king of the Rakshasas) imprisoned saints and oppressed people like you, he was killed by Bhima. Did the mental distress of those eminent persons go in vain? Therefore, O, Huna (European) rulers! Release Mr.Tilak soon.

Anarchism in Bengal.

27. The following are some of the important observations made in the JARIDAH-E-ROZGAR, of the 14th November, in connection with the attempted murder of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal by a Bengali student:--In spite of the best endeavours on the part of the British Government to ameliorate the condiction of the Indians, and to grant them every concession and privilege without distinction of caste, creed or colour, these Bengalis will not give up their lawless habits. The raw inexperienced Bengali students, who have only a supefficial knowledge of matters political, come forward to bully and worry the innocent Europeans, and to commit all sorts of mischief. The secret conspiracies are, as a matter of fact, the work of not one individual but of a body of lawless characters. How ungrateful and treacherous are these Bengalis who in spite of the noble assurances of our King-Emperor and his earnest desire to administer the Government for the benefit of all will not give up their foolish ways? It is not known what is the real cause of the anarchism and discontentedness. Government has granted remissions in the various punishments awarded to the anarchists, and even acquitted certain accused such as Chidambaram Pillai, Mr.Subramania Aiyar, Tilak, Sirdar Ajit Singh, etc. It is a matter of great pride to the inhabitants of Madras that they have always kept themselves aloof from risings and insurrections which tend only to promote ill-feelings and ill-will between the rulers and the ruled. Government is not afraid of the threats of a handful of terrorists. Bengalis will bring ruin on themselves by their misdeeds. If the Govt. ~~These~~ were to make over temporarily the Government of India to the Bengalis, the country would be a hotbed of strifes and intrigues the next day.

The Hindus and Mussalmans are sure to cross swords with each other as the Hindus are the bitterest foes of the Mussalmans. In proof of this, it may be cited ~~in-the-Hindu that~~ that the Mussalmans have never taken part, and will never take ~~part~~ any part, in the Hindu National Congress. The resentment of the Bengalis in the matter of the Partition of Bengal is but a further proof of their ill-feelings towards the Mussalmans. In short, it is well if the Bengalis put a stop to their lawlessness, and prove themselves loyal to the British Crown.

VI. MISCELLANEOUS.

The Maharaja of Benares on our boycott movement.

29. The INDIA, of the 7th November, writes:--The Maharaja of Benares has condemned in a letter to the LONDON TIMES our boycott movement and demand for reforms. His view is that, if the people of the land of Bharata acquire SWARAJ, it will adversely affect the status of the many native kings who are now styled Maharajas and Rajas. First of all this Maharaja is not a crowned king like the Maharajas of Mysore and Travancore, but only a small zamindar. The title of Maharaja was conferred on him only in consideration of his parentage. So, we cannot see how he is in a position to judge of the conveniences or otherwise of crowned kings. When persons like the Maharaja of Baroda, the foremost of the native kings in point of civilisation, learning and knowledge, sympathise with the SWADESHI movement, we are surprised to see zamindars like the Maharaja of Benares feel aggrieved by it.

In ancient times, zamindars and other nobles tried to oppose the progress of the people in France and other civilised countries and they suffered for it; the same will be the lot of the nobles who try to oppose the carrying out of reforms in our country. Just as a drowning man catches at a straw, the British officials rely on the help of these nobles and hope to crush the people with that help.

Then again, one of the arguments of the Maharaja of Benares against the boycott movement is that if we boycott foreign goods,

the foreigners will in turn boycott our goods which will materially affect our export trade. The only case in which this can happen is by the Englishmen deciding not to send for the raw products of our country. But if they do so, they will have to shut up all their factories the very next day.' Will they eat mud after that? It is not India but the foreign countries that will be the losers by the stoppage of the export of raw products from India. But what is the use of blowing a horn into the ears of deaf men?

The Madras Mail and the Moderates.

30. The INDIA, of the 7th November, observes:--Even the Moderates desire to have only SWARAJ for India. But these also want the people to help the British authorities and strengthen their hands. We agree with the MADRAS MAIL in saying that this is a very anamolous position. It says: "How can we rely on the attachment to the British authority of those who do not want that authority to exist in the ~~futuar~~ future? This is contrary to the ordinary principles of logic." Thuly, those who desire to have SWARAJ are bound to stand aloof without acquiescing in British authority. Instead of this, if they express both the views, neither partly can rely on them and they become traitors to the crore.

Political offenders in England and in India

33. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 18th November, writes:--Our readers already know that the women in England have been, for some time past, agitating for securing the privilege of voting for themselves and creating disturbances often with the help of the unemployed many. The acts of these, such as attacking the police, entering into and creating a disturbance in the Parliament, issuing hand-bills, arousing the feelings of the people and preventing the British ministers from speaking in any public place, are really acts prejudicial to the stability of the Government and so are also political offences. These women have not stopped with creating disturbances but have been personally attacking the

the ministers and they are helped by a set of desperados who would not scruple to commit any offence. Is there a graver political offence than this? Naturally, the evil resulting from the bold acts of these must be far more serious indeed than that caused by a lazy editor of a newspaper babbling something in a corner of his paper and this is not a fact unknown to the authorities. Still the fact that the period of punishment of persons accused of political offences in India is not less than five years, while persons wantonly committing similar offences of a far more serious nature in England are only sentenced to imprisonment to one or two weeks, clearly shows that the high civilisation of England becomes very narrowed as far as India is concerned.

The loyal celebration in Madras.

34. The INDIA, of the 7th November observes:--In replying to the address by the people of Madras to their Governor, Sir Arthur Lawley, on the 2nd November, he is reported to have said as follows "I have been in other countries during times of war and I know of its horrors. When I compare this with the everlasting peace that the Indians are enjoying, I am led to doubt whether you, the people of this country, fully realise the value of this rare advantage." Does Sir Arthur Lawley, who said so, prefer enjoying permanent peace in India as a subject of the British Government to serving in other countries in a state of war and endangering his life? We wish to know if he likes the idea of relinquishing his rights as an Englishman in favour of those of an Indian so far as political privileges are concerned. Why should we ask him? If we go and say to the subject of any other Government "British India is entirely peaceful without any kind of unrest and so will you become a citizen of the British India?" He will at once reply, saying "what is the use of peace in a land which is not free? I will rather plough a land as a bullock than live in British India as a slave without any rights." We believe this fact is known to Sir Arthur Lawley too.

35. The INDIA, of the 7th November, writes:--We the inhabitants of the land of Bharata, have lost every kind of rights and have become slaves to a white race that has come from a far-off clime.

What should we do?

The whole world deems it a wonder that thirty crores of us should be subject to a nation who are even two lakhs in number. The other nations of the worldx do not, on this account, regard the Englishmen as a very strong and heroic nation. On the other hand, they have got a disgust and contempt towards us. The Indian is insulted wherever he goes. Every one spits at us, The world believed that these sheep called Indians can be ruled not by Englishmen alone but by any other race. So it will not do for us now to put on airs, because it will only create the laughter of others. The only principle on which every one of us, man or woman, should now act is that we should acquire independence for our land and live such a life that others will have a fear of and respect for us. We must remove any obstacle that may occur to prevent our following this principle. We should not care for happiness, respect or position in acting on this principle. Even if it should entail the loss of our wives and children, we must be prepared to risk it. He who cannot act thus is a eunuch and must not come forward as a follower of SWARAJ. He who is for liberty must be prepared to sacrifice everything but his soul. O Bharatha! Do not care for any obstacle. Do not give up your eternal duty, afraid of bodily suffering. Even you must get rid of your slavery and sounding the trumpet of victory, you must give freedom to every race in the world which has been enslaved. By your act, mohher Bharata must once more shine as the crest jewel of the world. So do not forsake the above principles.

36. A correspondent of the INDIA, of the 7th November, observes:--"If we create a love for SWADESHI in the minds of the people, a desire for SWARAJ will of its own accord grow among them. Our

Our impertant work

present rulers, the Englishmen, are doing their best to prevent the spread of this new spirit among the people. This is the only point on which we and our enemies are at logger-heads. But how long ~~the only point on which we and our enem--a~~ can they rule the kingdom by unjust deeds? How long can these foreign Englishmen, who try to conduct the Government against the will of the people, continue to remain in this country? The more these afflict the people by cruel deeds, the sooner will the latter get ~~digx~~ disgusted with the former. Alas! How many youngsters have been subjected to the cruelties of a jail life within the last three years! Will not their mothers and wives curse these whites with their tears? Manu has said that that kingdom, in which the women are made to weep by the misdeeds of the king, will be ruined very soon. What was the fate of Ravana? Was not Duhsasana ruined by the curse of Drowpadi? The very day these English Whites ~~xxix~~ began to sacrifice the lives of the youths of this country wrongly and unjustly their bad days also began. The very moment the king began to flout justice in ruling the country, the seeds of SWADESHISM were sown in the country. So what is the use of our losing heart? The sooner we weaken the hands of these Englishmen, the more speedily ~~we~~ can we accomplish our object. Brethren! SWADESHISM is our chief weapon. We should help the growth of this by means of hand-bills and newspapers. We should be prepared to die rather than lead the lives of slaves hereafter.

The Proclamation.

37. The HINDU KESARI, of the 23rd October, (received on the 18th November) observes:--The difference between the "Jubilee" which took place ten years ago and the Proclamation of the 2nd instant, is that all the people had peace of mind then to some extent at least, Every street in our town was decorated then with festoons and flags bearing the portraits of the Emperor. Not only did the entrances of houses present bright inscriptions of "God save the Emperor", but all the people celebrated the occasion with

rejoicings. But now, the people have no peace of mind whatever. While the country abounds in gagging Acts and in acts intended for punishing great men and in Judges who do not administer justice impartially, and while the country is being governed unrighteously, and the people are wailing loud, who wants the "Proclamation" of the Panchama of the Panchamas? For us, who are waiting to be relieved from the oppression of these wicked Feringhees, their festival ~~ks if~~ is equivalent to death. As an illustration for the said statement, there was heavy rain on that despicable day. Shastras proclaim that it is inauspicious that rains should fall on happy occasions. Rulers who oppress people will be always attended with misfortune but never with good fortune. According to the expression "Mind gets perverted when overtaken by calamity, the perversity of our rulers in crushing us is for their own ruin." Unless these wicked Mala (Pariah) ~~x~~ rulers crave God's pardon for the cruel actions committed by them, give back to us the rights wrested ~~f~~ from us, and govern us justly, levying taxes just like the righteous kings of old, and conferring appointments without observing any distinction between the Christians and ourselves, it is not possible for these Panchama rulers to retai the country. For, God cannot brook injustice, and moreover He w put an end to kings like our Mala (Pariah) rulers who ~~x~~ ill-trea His devotees. For instance, in olden times when Kartaviryarjuna (a king of the Rakshasas) grew arrogant and oppressed (the peop as these Mala (Pariah) rulers oppress Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Vish (one of the Hindu trinity) incarnated as Parasurama, killed tha wicked ~~Hunas (Europeans)~~ person and further extirpated the Ks triyas twenty-one times. Note this, Hunas (Europeans)! You a persecuting good persons foolishly without realising the resul thereof. If we quote from our Puranas, the fruits of your evi actions will be clear to you.

O, Malas (Pariahs)! If you intend to be happy, you must first give up the mean action of putting good men in prison. Secondly, you must grant us equal rights with your own peopl impartially. Else, you are sure to be ruined. Thirdly, the M of your race outrage our high-class women and in such cases,

only let off wicked persons with partiality but declare that our high-class women who are pre-eminently chaste x and virtuous, are adultresses. Wxi Will the sorrow of such virtuous women, whom you have so treated, go in vain? It will not certainly go in vain? You cannot but reap the consequences of such horrible deeds within a short time. Would you be comsidered honest persons, you Mlecchas, who have committed evil actions such as the oppression of saintly persons like Tilak, the outrage on xxxxxxx virtuous family women like Viranvati, the discharge of wicked persons, the introduction of unnecessary and cruel Acts, etc. You would never be considered so. There never existed mean kings like you at any time. What great sin have we committed in our previous birth, to be subject to such a base administration! When might God cast a kind glance on us and relieve us from our troubles! When may we attain freedom? When may the sacred India come to be ruled by kings like the anarchist statesman-like kings in supersession of your (Mleccha non-Hindu) Government.

~~38. The SWADESHABHIMANI, of the 16th November, expre~~

39. The SWADESHABHIMANI, of the 16th November draws attention to the various sufferingsx to which the Indians imprisoned for transgressing the provisions of the Immigration regulations are subjected and says that these heroes are suffering for the cause of India, as a whole, and their success in their struggle will not only establish the rights of the Indians as British subjects but will raise them in the estimation of the world. Bx It is therefore incumbent on the people xof India to give them their moral support by holding meetings to pass resolutions sympathising with the sufferers and calling upon the British Government to put an end to the high-handedness of the Transvaal Government. The situation has also a lesson to teach the Hindus Mussalmans and Parsees of India to unite together for their common good.

The Transvaal Indians.

40. The MANORAMA, of the 13th November strongly condemns the recent dastaddly xx attempt on the life of Sir Andrew Fraser, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal.

Attempt to shoot the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal

For the week ending 28th November 1908.

No. 48 of 1908.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY NATIVES.

I. FOREIGN POLITICS.

2. The INDIAN PATRIOT, of the 18th November writes:--The protest that the Muhammadans in the Transvaal have made against General Botha's allegation that they had not participated in the resistance to the anti-Asiatic legislation, is yet another proof, if proof is needed, of how bitterly the Transvaal legislation is felt by xxthe Indians. It is a struggle for life and death that is going on in and xx South Africa, whether the Indian should take leave of all that annobles a man and be content to be a slave, or, whether he should stand up and suffer for his rights. So long they have done the latter, and the wind has yet to change xxx which is to create any doubt as to their fixed programme. General Botha's assertion that the Muhammadans did not participate in the resistance is a reflection on the Muhammadans did not race, as a whole. It means that they are so low down the scale, that they never cared whether they are freemen or slaves; for, when such an obnoxious law as the Asiatic Registration Act is passed and those against whom it is passed do not protest against it, they forfeit all claim to be respected. We never thought the Muhammadans would ever keep back from the struggle, for the simple reason that the struggle in the Transvaal wasnot of the Hindu or the Parsi or the Muhammadan, but of the Indian. It was not religion but politics that lay at the root; and whatever interested persons may say or do, so far as politics is concerned, race and colour and creed will all give way, and every man will stand shoulder to shoulder as a citizen protecting his own rights

We are for it.

and protecting the rights of his countrymen. And so far as the Transvaal question is concerned, it is a mockery to say that the Muhammadans have ever flinched from throwing in their lot with the Hindus.

"In India, too, the day is not far when the Muhammadans, as a whole, would throw in their lot among the Hindus and, as far as politics is concerned, learn to look at the question as an Indian and not as a sectional one.

3. The WEST COAST SPECTATOR, of the 21st November, writes:-

Indians in Transvaal

"The Supreme Court of Transvaal has set aside the conviction and sentence of three months' hard labour passed on Mr.Gandhi and fifty-three other Indians, for re-entering the Transvaal after deportation, on the ground that they were residing in the Transvaal when the Registration Act was passed. Now that the Act has been declared inoperative in the case of Indian residents, the unscrupulous Boer may find other means to persecute Mr.Gnadhi and his following. But it has by this time become clear that our countrymen in the Transvaal are not going to submit to the unreasonable demands of the Boer. They are prepared to suffer again. And under the circumstances it remains to be seen what the Imperial Government are going to do, and how long it is going to permit its subjects to be maltreated by the Boers. Are we to understand from the Imperial Government's half-hearted protests to the Transvaal that it has even less power to interference with a Government which is subordinate to it than with foreign Governments? If that is really so, the treatment of our countrymen in the Transvaal is the strongest reason for giving us self-government. If the Government at Home is powerless to protect its Indian subjects it should at least give the latter power to protect themselves. And since the present Government of India is equally powerless with the Imperial authorities, the conclusion that only a self-governing India will be in a position to safeguard her interests abroad is irresistable. It is most scandalous that while self-govern-

ment is denied to India by her rulers on the ground that her interests are better safeguarded by them than her own children, they (the rulers) should demonstrate their inability to safeguard India's most elementary interests. We ask Englishmen and others who hold that India should, for ever, be a dependency of Great Britain, to consider this aspect of the question."

4. The INDIAN PATRIOT, of the 26th November, writes:--

"* * * * * *

The race problem of the Empire.

"The Imperial Government have yet done nothing to vindicate the status which Indians consider to be theirs by right of birth and connection; and the reply given by the Under Secretary for India to Mr.Harold Cox shows that they are content to acquiesce in the determination of the Colonists to deny rights to Indians in the Colonies, while themselves, enjoying every right in India. If Indians cannot have rights in the Colonies, they are bound to insist on the exclusion of the Colonies from India. Their position in this respect is perfectly legitimate and logical. For the Imperial Government to say that they will allow the Colonists to have their own way while doing nothing to help the Indians, is a monstrous evasion of their responsibility. Such an attitude on their part can never improve the feeling of Indians. If they cannot directly dictate to the Colonies, they must indirectly enable Indians to enforce their rights by giving them protection against the encroachment of colonials on what belongs to them in their own country. Indifferent answers to questions in Parliament will not convince Indians that the Imperial Government have done their duty by them; and so long as it preserves its present attitude, it merely leaves the colour problem of the Empire to grow and to gradually become incapable of a peaceable settlement."

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(b) Courts.

6. The WEST COAST SPECTATOR, of the 18th November, writes:-

INDIA sedition case.

"The conviction and sentence of five year's transportation passed on Sreenivasa Aiyangar, accused in the INDIA sedition case, which ended in the Madras High Court on Friday last, is one more instance of the course which justice has of late been taking in Indian sedition trials. The defence laboured under several disadvantages. ~~The~~ To begin with, the composition of the jury was highly unfavourable to it. The Crown exercised its fullest right of challenge, and succeeded in getting a jury composed of EIGHT EUROPEANS and one Indian, a GOVERNMENT SERVANT. All the jurors, except one, the Indians, were innocent of the language in which the alleged seditious articles were written; and had to rely on the translations of the Tamil Translator to Government, the accuracy of which was challenged by counsel for the defence. Other 'seditious' articles, which the Chief ~~Treasury~~ Presidency Magistrate refused to incorporate in the charge at a later stage of the preliminary trial, were allowed by Mr.Justice Munro to go in evidence in spite of Mr.Cowdell's protests. Mr.Cowdell's defence was a very able one, and he placed before the jury several extenuating circumstances. He proved that the accused's offence was a purely technical one. The responsibility of the paper no doubt rests with the accused by reason of his name having been registered under the Press Act, but there was absolutely no proof of his having written the articles, or even of his having had any knowledge of them when they appeared in print. A Tamil scholar, under whom the accused was studying, moreover, testified that he was incapable of writing idiomatic classical Tamil. And other respectable witnesses also testified to the fact that the accused was only a clerk and had only a general management of the affairs of the paper. Yet another witness testified to the fact that the accused had no means to carry on the paper. But the Judge overlooked all these extenuating circumstances and awarded the accused the punishment which is, we think, out of all proportion to his offence.

The fact that the original case itself is tried in the High Court, there is NO APPEAL such as was possible in Chidambaram Pillay's, case is another hardship. The attitude of the Crown towards the accused, we extremely regret, savoured of vindictiveness. The Crown Prosecutor pressed His Lordship for an exemplary punishment 'in view of the present serious condition of things which prevails.' As Mr.Justice Davar observed, the other day, in the course of the KAL sedition trial, the Crown ought not to be vindictive in such cases. 'The serious condition of things which prevails' will only be aggravated when our law courts and the Government are disposed to show so mercy to persons accused of sedition. The Government would have ~~been~~ shown highmindedness and true statesmanship if, instead of gathering during many months articles deemed seditious appearing in INDIA, it had, on obtaining first intimation of the offence, taken action under section 108, Criminal Procedure Code, and saved the poor may by giving timely warning."

(k) General.

Strong measures.

9. The INDIAN PATRIOT, of the 24th November, writes:--"While admitting the necessity for strong measures for dealing with the new anarchical developments, we are bound to warn the Government of India against acting on the advice of men who have lost their commonsense as well as their legal sense; for it is men of this description that have come forward with advices and have been thanked by the Viceroy for their zeal. The Chamber of Commerce, the Trades Association, and the Anglo-Indian Defence Association are the three bodies that have made a joint representation to the Viceroy, and been promised consideration of their proposals; and we must confess that we have been surprised at the blind manner in which they suggest remedies against anarchism. The difficulty that has been so far experienced is not so much in punishing the anarchist, but in finding him out, and tracing his

connection with other anarchists and discovering their whole plot, its entire extent and ramifications. To send a man to jail or to the gallows after a swift trials, and sentence is easy enough; but swift trial free from the safeguards which the accumulated wisdom and experience of law-givers have provided for the protection of the innocent, will not affect the actual criminals who are not detected and brought to trial. And no means is suggested for tracking down criminals with more success than now seems to attend the efforts. The underlying mistake of the recommendations we have referred to consists in devising a remedy on the strength of a singular experience. The murder of approver Gosain has been enough for people to gravely suggest an amendment in the law of evidence making an approver's statement, which has not been subjected to cross-examination, admissible as evidence. But this is the first case of an approver being murdered, and may probably prove the last. But the testimony of approvers will have to be taken frequently, and such testimony may affect the fate of many people charged with crime. The possibility of an approver being a more reliable witness than any other class of witness is not to be contemplated without grave concern. Witnesses are commonly found to break down in cross-examination, to contradict themselves, and to expose themselves to criminal prosecution for perjury; and no value is attached to the evidence of a witness unless he has been duly cross-examined. We do not believe that many serious men can be found who will contend that this is not a very necessary safeguard against the lives and liberty of innocent men being sworn away by unscrupulous witnesses. An approver's testimony, though legally admissible, is always received with caution, for the simple reason that his object in coming forward and swearing against another is to save his own neck; and it is impossible to attribute to him much of disinterestedness or zeal for justice. The approver, notwithstanding his usefulness in sometimes procuring the conviction of a guilty person or persons, belongs to a class which is despised throughout the world; and it is impossible to give his untested testimony a value superior to that

of the ordinary witness, not excluding the expert in any particular department of knowledge. When there are enough means available to Jail Superintendents and the Police to guard their approvers from danger, it seems hardly necessary to tamper with the Evidence Act which is based on a larger wisdom and experience than can be claimed in connection with the murder of Gossain. Another suggestion proceeding from the same source is for a modification of the law of conspiracy, as if any criminal conspiracy which has been discovered, has escaped punishment owing to any defect in the law. The amateur lawyers of the Chamber of Commerce and the Trades Association have a good deal more to learn of law before they can offer useful advice to Government on legal matters. But the fact that their suggestions have been promised consideration by the Viceroy makes us somewhat nervous about the development of legal eruditities seriously affecting the lives and liberties of peaceful subjects."

10. The MADRAS STANDARD, of the 26th November, writes:--

Special measures.

"The Government will soon adopt some special measures to put down crime in Bengal. Whether these measures will be so shaped as to ~~mark~~ make them applicable to all India or not we do not know. If what the mercantile bodies in Calcutta say gives us a clue to the new policy, we may remark that what the Government have in view is the forging of a special weapon or weapons to destroy anarchism in Bengal. Anarchism and sedition must be put down with a strong hand. But the difficulty arises when the question of means is faced. . . . . . It has long been suggested that a special Court should be erected with special powers to deal with the new crime. But it is well to remind the authorities that the criminals and the would-be criminals who are to be directly dealt with are only a few in number, but that the laws we are referring to are so stringent and comprehensive that they will affect the liberties of all. Government should, therefore, deeply

ponder over the situation before they enact unpopular laws and add to the existing discontents. But to one remedy we have often called attention in these columns. If the Government enlist the active co-operation of the people by taking them into their confidence, society can be rid of the anarchists. We are glad to see that a Calcutta paper also suggests the same plan of campaign. In the course of an article on 'political crime and the people' the INDIAN NATION says:--'The people and the authorities should however act in concord in the matter. We suggest that His Excellency on his return to Calcutta should have an informal conference with the leading Bengalee citizens of the town, at which the situation could be freely discussed. An attitude of aloofness and suspicion would, we venture to think, be a grave mistake, only less unwise than the viewing of the situation through the eyes of the police. We feel sure that the response to such an invitation from His Excellency would be spontaneous, unanimous and rich in results; and that it would at this stage be a statesmanly act on the part of Lord Minto. But should it not be so, the responsibility would still rest with us to purify without delay or compromise that atmosphere in Bengal in which political crime is born. For we owe it more to ourselves and to our country than to the Government of India.' We agree with what our contemporary says, and we hope that something will soon be done in this direction."

11. The WEST COAST SPECTATOR, of the 25th November, writes:--

Anarchism in Bengal.

"Mr.Tilak has been hurried away from India for a six years' exile for saying that the bomb is but a symptom of a deepseated disease, which calls for constitutional, not symptomatic treatment. The Government has tried repression for a good while now, and the police have been a very terror. Newspapers have been prosecuted, and meetings proscribed. Yet the hand of the

assassin is as busy as ever. What is it that has brought about such a radical and revolting change in the character of the meek Bengalee? What accounts for such a huge and spontaneous demonstration by men and women over the funeral of a murderer? The Anglo-Indian official and publicist do not stop to study the psychology of the phenomenon, but only cry for more repression. A special Court with plenary powers to try political offenders--demand some. A special Crimes Act--cry others. Close the Native Colleges--cry yet others. And every one asks, why don't the law-abiding citizens do something to prevent all this! It is little use to argue with persons in hysterics. But it needs little sagacity to observe that oppression cannot solve the problem. And the peaceful and educated citizens cannot help, however they may wish to. They are a discredited people. They have, loyally and soberly, offered advice for a quarter of a century--advice which, as the true representatives of the masses they alone could offer, but which was repeatedly and most insultingly spurned by the Government. And now, they are to help to clear the situation! And all the while, they too are suspected, and not allowed even to meet together for a peaceful and constitutional demonstration, as for instance on the last Partition Day, October 16th. The only solution lies in sympathy and conciliation. What a tremendous outburst of wholesome feeling would have been caused if at least one political prisoner, Mr.Tilak, had been released in connection with the King's Message and its mention of 'Royal clemency'.' As for Bengal, the undoing of the Partition, which now every one acknowledge to be an error would be a hundredfold more potent that twenty years of repression. But there is 'prestige!' And the ideas of orientals' who, it appears, mistake concessions for a sign of weakness! What a pity that our rulers have lost the statesmanship of their fathers, and their genuine passion for freedom! We are offered a few more seats in the legislative councils, and one or two of the higher appointments, and it is expected that these sops will satisfy a nation awaking to a consciousness of power and anxious for a complete self-expression ! Since writing the above, we have

read the Viceroy's announcement in his speech to the talukdars of Oudh, that the Government will 'forge special weapons' to deal with anarchism. And the Englishman declares it as 'our firm conviction that wholesale deportation at the present moment is the best way of dealing with the case.' By and by, he says, new laws may be made 'sweeping xxxxxxx away technical absurdities' and then some of the deported men may be brought back 'to figure for a while in the dock before entering upon a more lengthy sojourn in less pleasant confines.' Could shame-facedness go further? All these summary methods mean xx xxx only this--a free hand to the police. The story of the Midnapur bomb conspirary is, unhappily, too fresh in people's minds."

Treatment of the Bengal situation.

12. The INDIAN PATRIOT, of the 26th November, writes:--"We have repeatedly pointed out the necessity of Government acting in concert with the leaders of the people in devising measures to suppress the anarchical developments in Bengal. We have done so from the conviction that such concerted action will be more effective, because it will best isolate anarchists and prevent their getting any kind of sympathy from the people at large. Every intelligent man in Bengal who has not been seized with the new fanatic spirit must devoutly desire the extermination of the brood; but any action of the Government, taken without the co-operation of the people and in disregard of them, is likely to prove less effectual and to a certain extent unpopular. . . . . Mere repressive measures there have been enough in Bengal; but in taking these measures the people have been left out of account. Let them now be made to realise their responsibility as much as the Government does its own, and let both join with the feeling that the interests of the nation as much require to be safeguarded against anarchy as the interests of the Government. By such joint action the anarchist will soon find that he can have no place in society, and that he will be hunted down alike

by the people and by the agents of Government. It will also prevent annoyance to any class of peaceful people, some of whom it is obvious, have badly suffered on account of the acts of anarchists, and to the extent they have suffered consternation has spread among the people at large. The Policeman's xxxx baton may be laid aside if the people are in concert with authority; and we have every confidence that the Viceroy will succeed if he but makes the attempt."

VI. MISCELLANEOUS.

13. The WEST COAST SPECTATOR, of the 21st November, writes:--

Muhammadan claims.

"When will our Muhammadan brethren learn to be self-respecting and to look at public questions from a commonsense point of view? In spite of the warnings of their real well-wishers, they seem to be bent upon carrying their sectarian campaign to its bitter length. They seem to think that their interests are in diametrically opposed to the interests of other communities; and the Indian Moslem League is encouraging the Muhammadan to stick to the 'mendicant policy' and to crave for special favours of the rulers. Not discouraged by the rebuff the x recent Moslem deputation received at the hands of the Governor of Bombay, the All-India League has again passed a resolution praying 'that the Government may be pleased,' in view of the rights of the Muhammadans, to appoint Muhammadan Judges in the High Court of Bombay, the Chief Court of Burma and the Judicial Courts of other provinces.' We are surprised to see such a demand emanating repeatedly from a body claiming to be the advocate of progress and reform. No word is sufficiently strong to condemn a proposal which seeks to lower the prestige and strength of our High Courts by substituting class favouritism for selection on the ground of ability and knowledge of law. As Sir George Clarke very rightly observed to the deputation that recently waited on him, in making appointments to the High Court, the Secretary of State should be guided solely by an earnest desire to secure the best

available judicial talent. 'Unless a departure from this most salutary principle were accepted, it is not possible to lay down,' said His Excellency, 'that a particular community should always be represented in the High Court. I need not say that no one is born with a knowledge of law, which can only be acquired by study and practice. There is, therefore, nothing to prevent a Hindu or English Judge from becoming an expert in Muhammadan Law.' Let us hope that the Government of India will, like Sir George Clarke, set its face strongly against, and condemn, in no unequivocal terms, the mischievous demands of an unreasonable class which, if granted, would be fraught with most serious consequences."

The Indian National Congress

14. In a leader on the coming Congress, the HINDU, of the 23rd November, says:--". . . . . All thoughtful men in the country will accept the ideal which the moderate leaders have set up for realisation in practical politics, viz., self-government on colonial lines. It is also beyond dispute that political agitation in the country must be strictly confined to constitutional methods and must be carried on subject to the laws of the country, and in a legitimate, open manner. With these necessary conditions all those who wish to labour for the regeneration of the country must endeavour to work in harmony and with a brotherly spirit. What is it that two separate Congresses are supposed to achieve? A single Congress representing all interests in the country, and all shades of opinion, is the only way of focussing the collective sentiments and voice of the nation, and to the extent to which it is a true mirror of the state of things in the country, it would be a potent factor of helpfulness to the Government and be an instrument calculated to promote the best interests of the people of the Government. The one institution to which the Indian National Congress has always been likened, the ideal to which its promoters have always attempted its

approximation from the very commencement, has been the British Parliament, although there are great and vital differences in functions and other matters between the two institutions. The value of the Indian National Congress, so far as it is able to achieve anything whatever, is in its being able to represent every shade of opinion in the country and every national factor which has an important bearing upon the welfare and government of the people. . . ."

Arabindo Ghosh.

15. The INDIAN PATRIOT, of the 24th November, writes:--"Yet another and a most touching account comes from Bengal, and that is the account of our interview which an old class-mate of Arabindo Ghosh had with him. Within the walls of the prison for nearly a year, Arabindo has changed, and when the old Cambridge fellow saw him, it was only to be surprised and to recall those days of 'responsible indifference,' when Arabindo used to shine among his fellows as a fine classic scholar, and be the object of admiration and love of his 'class-mates'--that love and admiration which the boy feels for his superior fellow, and which are as pure as they are unaffected. The gloom of the gaol must have surrounded him with ten times its heaviness after the departure of Mr.Ferrers who led him to those bright days of a College life when life was golden and the future was one remarkable expanse of flowers and charms for the young aspirant, and love and distinction awaited him outside the College walls, and a thousand other things which only a mind, surrounded by the pictures of a glorious past, could fondly imagine, and such a mind belongs only to the scholar. 'He is very much talked of at home yet,' said the English friend; and that he should have all the way gone to the gaol and most 'specially' solicited an interview with his old 'fellow', charged with a crime which would turn the most sympathetic heart away from him, is the best illustration of how commandingly comprehensive must have been

Arabindo's influence among his college-fellows. And, indeed, the rapid ascent which Arabindo Ghosh made in the estimation of his fellow men does explain that he has in him that inexplicable, yet all resistless, charm which makes a man a born commander over others. It is when we see such flashes of an intellect which has kept many of us in admiration for a long time, just as it has kept his school-fellows long years ago, that we feel most painfully for Arabindo Ghosh, admiration for the man, horror of the crime he is charged with, and almost feverish anxiety as to the result of his trial, all tending to give rise to feelings of the most painful kind. That he has yet a hold on many of his countrymen's hearts is explained by the magnificent sum of money which, at his little sister's plaintive cry, went rolling up to her house; that he is still an object of admiration even to his enemies is best illustrated by the most brilliant references which Mr.Norton made to him while arguing the case against the accused. There are many who hope that he would be able to come out of gaol, his character all the better for the severe scrutiny it had in a public Court of Justice. There is no doubt that some of his best friends are now ashamed of him, but until the charges are proved, one need not be ashamed at all, and it will be some consolation for Arabindo to know, if he is innocent, that those whom he worked for, in his own way, love him yet, just as his school-fellows love him, and they pray that he may come out with a clear character, without which the greatest intellect loses half its charm and all its influence."

India under the Crown.

16. Criticising the TIMES article on the Royal Proclamation, the MADRAS STANDARD, of the 25th November, says:--". . . . . As might have been expected the TIMES makes much of the clause 'so far as may be.' But surely it need not have gone further and quoted with evident appreciation Lord Curzon's attempt at explaining away this portion of the Proclamation. It cannot be

kept too clearly in mind that Lord Curzon, gloss on this clause in the Proclamation is essentially based on a principle which is the very opposite of that on which the Queen's Proclamation rests. We all know the elaborate display of statistics made by Lord Curzon in his sixth Budget speech. But as an Anglo-Indian correspondent points out there is a tendency to exclude Indians from posts which they are not only quite competent to fill but for which they are no reasons of expediency to exclude them. Probably it is a little cynical to desired ~~by-English~~ to say as he does that there is a tendency to give them posts which are not desired by Englishmen. However that be, it cannot be contended that the admission of Indians to the higher offices has kept pace with their proved ability and the spread of education among them. The remarks of the TIMES on the present situation contain nothing new or striking and is a rehash of its well-known views. However, we are glad to note that it has the insight and the candidness to admit that the people of India are loyal to the British Throne, a statement for which much may be forgiven to it. 'The people of India, says the TIMES, 'Have never wavered in their belief in Monarch is the chief visible embodiment. . . . The King-Emperor ~~that~~ stands apart, to him they yield undiminished homage, and he is the real link that binds India to the British Empire. The most reassuring consideration revealed by an examination of the last 50 years of British rule in India is that of the deepening sense of loyalty to the Crown.' This is undoubtedly true. The pity of it is that though this is admitted in theory the TIMES, often enough takes up an attitude with regard to the people of India which cannot be reconciled with the belief which it says it entertains.'

18. The CARLYLEAN, of for the 1st and 3rd weeks of July (received on the 23rd November), contains the following:--"Although our voice is more or less a voice in the wilderness, yet we would like to

Word to Nationalists.

to throw in a word of advice to all Nationalists at this juncture for what it is worth. There is absolutely no use ox criticising the actions or measures of the authorities any more either wildly or mildly at present. Let us turn our attention to constructive work. Let us preach the gospel of freedom, of industrial boycott, of national education, etc., soberly and dignifiedly, and in a constnuctive and positive spirit and despotism, mild or wild, will not make us fit for a free state. That character which is essential for political freedom, we will have to develop it ourselves. We are what we are more through our own various vices and weaknesses than through the rapacity of foreign despotisms. Truly and deeply speaking, British despotism is neither a curse for a blessing. It is the effect of a cause which is with the and within us. Remove the cause, and the effect will at once disappear.

"Mere anger at wrongs done to us will not make us free, individually, socially or politically. Love of truth, love of right, love of man as man, love of work as work, and pursuit of righteousness, through thick and thin, these alone can make us free and great. Freedom is first of sould and then of body, in the case of a people as in the case of an individual. If we all grow free in thought, word, and deed: that is, become true and pure in our lives, India grows free and takes her rank among the free nations of the world. India's subjection to foreign despotisms has been due to the immense selfishness of us Indians in various forms and the consequent hatred and discord among ourselves. Let us sacrifice our petty selves and great selfishness at the altar of Righteousness, and no power on earth can keep us down inn bondage.

We have immense work before us to do. We will have to do it more or less like gods with supreme self-control and deep self-knowledge. The work of social reform, the work of national education, the work of arbitration courts, the work of industrial improvement,--all these need all our constructive powers and faculties. Let us not mar these man-making and nation-making tasks on hand by being destructive and dissipated in our thoughts,

words, ~~xx xxx~~ and deeds.

Much harm has already been done to the sacred work of nation-building by those who who have grown too thoughtlessly too destructive and dissipated in their utterances and actions. If Nationalists sincerely and seriously want to do good to their country and make her new and free, they must cast to dogs all fretting, fuming, and smarting, and take up ~~xxxx~~ constructive work that ~~xxx~~ awaits us on every side eschewing everything that tends to disturb it."

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(b) Courts

The conviction in the INDIA sedition case.

24. While commenting on the conviction of Sreenivasachari, Printer and Publisher of the INDIA, of the 21st November, writes:-- Whatever others may say, we will stand by our work, viz., service for the motherland. They call our devotion to the country sedition and they describe our patriotism as a hatred towards foreigne[rs]. What can we do for this? Whatever we may do, we will never be traitors to our country and this is what every accused in a sedition case ought to say. That was what Sir Tilak, Bhupendranath ~~xx xxx~~ and Brahma Bandava Upadyaya said. Any other statement will not become an Indian. We shall continue to say and do things without swerving from our duty and let them do what they can till their power continues.

Bezwada sedition case.

25. Referring to the sentence passed by the District Judge in the Bezwada sedition case, the KISTNAPATRIKA, of the 22nd November, observes:--The Judge admits that there is some difficulty in establishing the guilt of the second accused. However, he found ~~xxxx~~ him guilty for these reasons: It is evident from his letters that he was interested in the progress

of the paper, SWARAJ; he was busying himself with political affairs; there is reason to believe he was knowing from time to time what was published in the SWARAJ; he was not a proprietor living only in a distant place; he had not proved that the article of the 26th March, "Perverted mind," was published without his knowledge. But this view of the Judge has not been supported by facts, nor is it satisfactory. This decision is not in accordance with the law regarding the inability of the proprietor. Even though we concur with the opinion of the Judge that the burden of proving his innocence lies on the accused, it has been sufficiently proved by the evidence adduced by the prosecution itself that the accused was absent from Bezwada, being busy with the work of the National College, before and after the 26th March. Therefore the publication of the article of that date could not have been known to him, and so he was not guilty.

(k) General.

27. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 25th November, writes:--

The present anarchism in India and the officials

In the course of a speech recently delivered by Lord Minto at Lucknow, he stated that the general public of a mischievous few and that on this account the reasonable aspirations of the people should not be thwarted. The same view has been recently expressed by Sir Andrew Fraser also. It is really the good fortune of India that, at this juncture, these officials have decided to do their duty calmly without impatiently taking to the suggestions of the Englishmen and the Anglo-Indian papers. The fact that the LONDON TIMES has been taking Lord Minto to task for being very leninet not in suppressing the anarchist tendency in India and the fact that the MADRAS MAIL ridicules Sir Andrew Fraser for having said that stringent measures need be adopted only after the necessity for them becomes patent, and states that the increase of anarchism in Bengal is only owing to the laxity of the system of his administration, clearly show the state of mind of the Englishmen

at present. Still Lord Morley, Lord Minto and the Provincial Governors have understood that the one hand to crush anarchism mercilessly and on the other to carry out the reforms asked for by the people. Within a day or two the law enacted to crush anarchism in the country will be made known and the people wil not ~~at-the-sam~~ have any objection them. If the long-expected reforms are also published at the same time, public peace would doubtless be restored in India.

The celebration of the Proclamation Jubilee.

32. The VEERAKESARI, of the 15th November writes:--The celebration of the Jubilee of the Royal Proclamation day in Madras was prevented from being made a grand affair by the rains. The celebration was held in several other places too. It is but proper that those who have benefited and those who expect to be benefited by the Proclamation should celebrate the day. No such celebration was held in Bombay or Calcutta. In Karachi a meeting was held in which the fact that the Proclamation has not been given effect to was pointed out. The BENGALEE newspaper expressed dissatisfaction at the Royal Message. Be this as it may, there was rejoicing in Mysore also for which there was do reason at all. Are there two sovereigns in Mysore? The Mysoreans are the subjects of the Maharaja. Why should they rejoice at the promises made to the British subjects? The ways of Mysore are mysterious.

Our past and present.

33. The NYAYABHIMANI, of the 16th November, observes:-- The history of India is full of instances of the greatness and valour of our ancestors and ancient kings. Even in recent times when the British tried to establish their Government in Bengal. the young Nawab Sirajudowlah not only opposed and drove them back, but also boldly confined the 146 Englishmen who remained

behind in the Black Hole of Calcutta and destroyed them. Similarly Mir Casim caught and imprisoned one Ellis and several other Englishmen and had the courage to have them murdered in the prison itself. Subsequently, Hyder though defeated by them many times, boldly opposed them again with his small force and compelled them to come to terms. The motive with which these kings so strenuously opposed the Englishmen was not surely self-interest, but a conviction that if these Englishmen were allowed to establish their Government here, they would take away all the wealth of our country and impoverish the people. That the Englishmen conducted their Government only on the above principle was made clear by the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857, in which all the Hindu sepoys in Meerut murdered all the Whites there and went to Delhi and rooted out the White element even there. When this news spread among the other corps in other places, the sepoys there also followed suit and Nana Sahib in Cawnpore shot every white male dead and cut into pieces all their ladies and children. Though this was a cruel act, the despotism that we now have would have begun then alone, but for these bold deeds. Many are of opinion that if those acts are repeated again, the Government will be conducted with fear and respect for another 50 years to come.

The Indians in the Transvaal

34. A correspondent of the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 26th November states:--Sriman Gandhi has been arrested and imprisoned for the serious offence of refusing to give his thumb-impression! If a gentleman, who has been practising as a Barrister in this country for nearly 13 years and who is known to every official here, is treated like this, what will be the fate of other people? Does it become the British, who vaunt that generosity and justice are their motto, to leave the government of a country in the hands of such a rancorous and cruel people? . . . . . Though it is nearly 150 years since India, with its thirty crores of people, came under the control of the British, the Boers, who are not even a lakh in number, have been given self-government

within a few years and they are now teasing the Inians in all possible ways! Several meetings have been held in India to intimate to the Government the sufferings of our brethren in the Transvaal and yet the Government would not take the least notice of it. Are there not ways to teach a lesson to this Government? If only all the Indians in the service of a Government and all those holding honorary offices in Legislative Councils, District Boards and Municipalities should give up their appointments and say "Unless the grievances of our brethren in the Transvaal are redressed, we are not prepared to work with the Government," the Indians in the Transvaal will doubtless be rid of their troubles.

<u>For the week ending 5th December 1908</u>.

<u>No. 49 of 1908</u>.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY NATIVES.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(b) Courts.

Sentences in sedition cases

2. The INDIAN PATRIOT, of the 30th November, writes:--"The London TIMES, in dealing with the treatment of political offenders makes the following significant observation:--'the singular variations witnessed of late in sentences for political offences do not strengthen the reputation of the Indian judiciary. We are glad to note that the excessive sentences in the Tinnevelly sedition case have been very properly reduced by the Madras High Court. Very extreme severity is as much a sign of judicial weakness as undue laxity of procedure.' The truth of this observation has not been very much realised, at least, in this Presidency. The TIMES is glad that the "excessive sentences" in the Tinnevelly case have been 'very properly reduced'. But the reduced sentences are only less excessive than the original ones; and as for the sentences in other cases the public have failed to find any justifiable proportion except on the ground that they were all passed for the same kind of offence. A

standard minimum of five years' rigorous imprisonment has been fixed in all cases but one; and this implies that in cases of sedition the offence must be treated as being of one invariable degree. It is, however, difficult to realise that in somany cases the measure of guilt should be the same, and that all the attendant circumstances should be the same. Yet, unless they are so, there must necessarily be variation in punishments. It would be strange, indeed, if in a number of cases of theft or dacoity the same uniform punishment was awarded; for no one case can be exactly of the same nature as another. Yet, in the sedition cases under reference, the presumption must be such, in view of the uniform standard of punishment. That a boy who spoke some foolish things or who was shown by Police reports to have spoken seditious sentiments must be punished in the same way as one who deliberately tried to propagate sedition shows a very imperfect sense of proportion, indeed. The sentences have surprised the public as much by their disparity as by their excessive severity. The TIMES is of opinion that extreme severity is a sign of judicial weakness. But it does not seem to be so considered by Judges in this country. In their opinion evidently such severity is a sign of judicial strength. The excessive sentences, which the TIMES is glad to note 'have been very properly reduced by the Madras High Court and which according to it constitute a sign of judicial weakness, were passed by a Judge who now sits on the very High Court Bench and who has, moreover, enunciated certain legal proposition which, if they were laid down from the High Court Bench, would deny to Indian subjects of His Majesty the right even to speak about politics in public. It is to be hoped that when the times are better, these things will receive more dispassionate consideration than they seem to have hitherto done."

~~(k) Gener~~al.

~~4. The MALABAR DAILY NEWS, of~~

(k) General.

4. The MALABAR DAILY NEWS, of the 26th November, writes:--

tThe suppression of political crime.

". . . . Bengal, in the forcible language of the joint letter addressed to the Government by three prominent and influential bodies representing the European community, has harboured for some years now an organized body of criminals, who seek to make the Government of the province impossible by assassinating European officials, and by terrorising Judges, Magistrates, Police Officers, juries, counsel, witnesses, approvers and informers. These criminals have already stained their hands with much blood, have caused much destruction, and are answerable for a general feeling of intense and incessant suspence in several parts of Bengal, but chiefly in Calcutta. That they are infuential and by no means lacking in money to carry on their nefarious campaign is being evidenced almost every day. They have undoubtedly smuggled in a considerable number of guns and revolvers and other lethal weapons, and they are in a position to prepetrate with impunity crimes of a most daring character. The Police apparently are unequal to the task of crushing out this organised conspiracy and of running to earth those miscreants who perpetrate or attempt murder and assassination. The slow and cumbrous procedure of the law Courts only helps indirectly to stimulate the anarchists to further action, as well as to tamper with evidence and frustrate the ends of justice. In the face of such a grave situation, the Government would be fully justified in forging special weapons to fight its enemies and crush them out of existence, while, on the other hand, it is unpardonably eccentric to waste time in philosophic deliberations as to the necessity or otherwise of special treatment for special disorders. The powerswith which the Government is armed would doubtless have sufficed if they had been sternly exercised at the very moment the conspiracy revealed itself, but strong measures were not then adopted, and, as a result the monster of revolution has gathered strength and spread out

its arms in all directions, so much so that special measures are now necessary if the movement is to be effectively pulled up and destroyed. This is the view not only of the European community in Bengal, but also of a very considerable body of the Indian community, and we do not suppose that the Government would have need to apologise for the plain duty which lies before it and which public opinion demands of it to undertake.

"* * * * * *

The COCHIN ARGUS, of the 28th November, concludes an articlex on the same subject with the following:--"The benevolent despotism, which is associated with British rule, in India, must be replaced, in Bengal, by a form of Government better suited to the occasion."

The economic drain in India.

5. In an article on the economic drain in India, the HINDU, of the 2nd December, writes:--"The economic injury to the country by the drain is permanent and even if there are counterbalancing advantages of a benevolent and efficient foreign Government, cheap capital and cheaper stores, there can be no doubt the loss to the country is great. The Government is, therefore bound to reduce it to the smallest possible proportions, by the employment of Indian agency in administration as far as this is available, by restricting the plentiful supply of foreign capital for Indian exploitation and by purchasing and encouraging the production of Indian stores."

Rulers, not Government.

6. Criticising an article in the DAILY TELEGRAPH in which Mr.Percival Landon expresses the opinion that in India it is the rulers that are unpopular, not the Government, the INDIAN PATRIOT, of the 2nd December, writes:--"But his view is only partially correct; it is correct only so far as individuals and individual

acts and measures diverge from the well-understood principles and aims of Government. It is not correct in the sense that, while the system of Government as an excellent system is popular, the rulers as being of a different race are unpopular; for the appreciation of the Government, of its underlying principles and aims, carries with it the appreciation of the benevolence and justice of the nation whose sense and sympathies are reflected in it. In reality, therefore, the English Government, or, to use the language of the Penal Code, Government as by law established in British India, is not unpopular; nor is the English nation, as a nation and as rulers of the land, unpopular. The unpopularity is that of individuals, and when the individuals are many who fail to act up to the genuine ideal of Government and administration as laid down by the will of the nation, and they are not, and need not be, amenable to the opinion of the people, difference of opinion and feeling naturally arises. Thus the fault, if there is, is not in the principles of Government, but in the means and methods employed for enforcing them in the actual administration. Even individual rulers, however good, and however popular, are not able to overcome the difficulties which arise from the systematised methods of Government--systematised according to the will and judgment of a class. All that individual rulers can do is to be good themselves, to command influence with the people. They may be respected and loved for their goodness of character and sympathies; but they cannot, even if they wish, themselves, confer much good on those who are drawn to them by their goodness. There was not a more popular or a more beloved Viceroy than Lord Ripon; but the actual good he was able to do fell very short of his intentions. Similarly there have been many District officials beloved by the people; but the best of District officials is powerless to do much good, for there is a better chance of his being supported when he stands against the people than when he stands for them. In the former case it becomes a question

of prestige; in the latter it is a matter of Government interests. He can more easily impose a new tax than take away an old one. He can refuse remission of revenue, but cannot grant it. The whole truth is that official ways and popular opinion frequently conflict. The system is too xxxxx centralised and too rigid for the play of individual sympathy, and the principles are too good to be strictly enforced by men who are not bound to respect the wishes or opinions of those whom their acts or measures affect."

The situation in India.

7. In an article on the situation in India, the MADRAS STANDARD, of the 3rd December, writes:--"If upon the question of the Bengal partition, action is taken which will convince the people of the readiness and willingness of the authorities to remove a grace source of ill-feeling, hardship and discontent, we have not the smallest doubt that one of the darkest features in the present situation will surely be removed. Mr.Gokhale has, therefore, been right in asking for a modification of the partition of Bengal. If the present discontents are the outcome of a grave misunderstanding, it is but meet that many, at any rate, of those who have brought on themselves trouble by their attitude in regard to certain unpopular measures should become objects of the mercy of the Government. The one can follow other without any loss of prestige and without any grave miscarriage of justice, as history, even Indian history, furnishes parallels of a like kind.

"On the question of reform public men in India have spoken with reiterated persistence and strength of conviction. Radical changes are not asked for. What the Congress calls the goal of its political ambitions cannot be realised at once. India is a country of classes, of creeds, of communities (x) of caste and a developed sense of social justice and social equality great political rights and privileges, in the exercise of which selfish and clannish considerations should not enter, cannot all

(x) and of castes. Without a reasonable amount of social fusion, social tolerance

be conferred. But subject to certain limitations and in proportion to the advancement made in the direction of modern progress, the Indian people should be put in possession of free political institutions of the kind so familiar to students of European civilisation. No responsible Indian organisation placed on a catholic basis of acknowledged Indian leader has asked for anything else. Indians take their stand on the Proclamation of 1858, which is the charter of their rights and which embodies the spirit of their aspirations. And it will be seen that in connection with the numerous criticisms passed on the Simla scheme of reform and in regard to the views placed before the ~~Declaration~~ Decentralisation Commission the principles and the fundamental basis of which we speak have been emphasised. But the future depends on the attitude and frame of mind not only of the Indian people, but, still more, of the Anglo-Indian rulers. It ~~not only the~~ remains to be known whether the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy in India have understood the trend and meaning of the new spirit not only in India but throughout the civilised world, and whether, having understood it, they are prepared to act upon their knowledge, in accordance with the legitimate ambitions and demands of the Indian people."

The present situation.

8. The WEDNESDAY REVIEW, of the 2nd December, contains the following:--"It is encouraging to learn that the India Office takes a sober view of the situation here and does not share the panic caused by thoughtless and irresponsible writings in the press. It seems such an easy affair to create an alarm in these days. You have only to spin a yarn and get somebody to print it. Otherwise it is hard to account for the facility with which absolutely unfounded reports travel for miles upon miles and the man in the street comes to believe in them. As regards the present situation in India, any number of these baseless canards circulate with incredible swiftness and before

they can be contradicted and their course arrested, a good deal of mischief has been done. We should think it would be an admirable thing to do if the India office would issue daily bulletins regarding the situation; and check the harm that is being done to this country by alarmists of all sorts. Authoritative statements by the India Office would be very serviceable just now and we trust that our Ministers will not be content with letting the truth known only when they are interviewed by Reuter."

Indians in Government service.

10. Criticising Sir Andrew Fraser's remarks that Indians were being freely and impartially employed in the Government services, the HINDU of the 4th December, writes:--"The vindication is plausible enough. It is easy to point to a few more appointments now held than formerly. But the pledge was not in respect of numbers but in r spect of a principle of appointing subjects of Her Majesty of whatever race or creed, to offices the duties of which they might be qualified by their education, ability and integrity duly to discharge. This principle is being deliberately set at nought, and Indians in the service are as a rule relegated to an inferior rank. The very creation of the Provincial Service as distinguished from the Imperial service in each department is a violation of the abovementioned principle. Education, ability and integrity, whatever may be the extent to which they may be possessed by Indians, are but secondary, and considerations of race in filling appointments are as paramount to-day as they were before or after the Proclamation."

Writing on the same subject, the INDIAN PATRIOT, of the 4th December, has the following:--"Between the time he commenced his career in India, and now, vast changes have taken place, and great advances have been made in many directions; but while the official mind exclusively fixes its attention on the achievement of administration, the popular mind exclusively dwells

on its imperfections and drawbacks. And this is the one great cause of perpetual disagreement between the rulers and the people. There are, however, those who, like Sir Andrew Fraser, see both sides of the picture, and are able at once to appreciate the merits of the work done and to lay their finger on the causes which have prevented the full realisation of the aims of Government. Sir Andrew claims, and we admit, that very appreciable advance has been made in accordance with the declared policy of British rule in India, and that the Queen's Proclamation has not been such a dead letter as it has been described to be. This we ourselves showed on a recent occasion."

The unrest in Bengal.

11. The INDIAN PATRIOT, of the 4th December, writes:--"How much of the unrest in Bengal is due to a purely administrative measure like the partition, and how much to official bungling and wanton Police oppression is worth an enquiry. That the dismemberment of the Province created discontent goes without saying; but it must also be obvious to the meanest intelligence that but for the numerous acts of high-handedness and oppression practised by uncontrolled subordinates the political complexion in both Bengals would have been quite different from what it is now. One is apt to wonder that there has not been greater excitement in Bengal, when instances such as the following are brought to one's xx notice. The Calcutta papers publish the report of a house-search in the district of Howrah thus:--'An anonymous letter was received by the Police from Sibpar in district of Howrah that bombs were being prepared in the houses of some zemindars of neighbouring district. An Inspector with twenty-five armed Police proceeded to the place and searched the house, only to find that it was a hoax. The Police are now trying to trace the writer of the letter." Of course, the Police in Bengal have been often laughed at for the fruitless searches they were led to make for weapons or bombs even in tanks. In all such searches the public have had no means of knowing on what kind of information

they acted. But, in the present case, they acted solely on an anonymous letter whose object was to play a hoax on the Police; and, however much their actx was discreditable to themselves, its result to the owner of the house which was searched was much graver. That an Inspector with twenty-five armed Policemen should search a gentleman's house, and search for bombs, ~~fa~~ not on the strength of any reliable information, but on the basis of an anonymous letter, is discreditable to any well-ordered administration. None but a particularly stupid or a particularly reckless Police officer would make himselfx responsible for such a search. There are, ~~sus~~ indeed, circumstances in which a keen watch has to be kept on every ~~existence of~~ suspicious thing; but where an anonymous letter is received pointing to the existence of bombs in the houses of zemindars or others, the most natural thing that any prudent man would ~~ad a~~ do is not to forthwith enter the houses with armed Policemen, and make a search but to keep a keen watch, to make enquiries, and to ascertain whether there is any foundation for the anonymous report. The fact that on getting an anonymous letter the Police ~~xxnk~~ proceeded to search the house seems to show a most incredible laxity of control over the Police, and a dangerous measure of immunity to the Police against high-handedness and oppression. The Police would hardly make unlawful and unjustifiable searches if they knew that the consequences to be feared, there is no reason why the Police should not pursue any wild-goose chase, with a reckless indifference to the private rights of the people and to the sanctity of their homes. When such things are possible, it is ~~ikik~~ little wonder that there is unrest in Bengal, and that the people are not ready to co-operate with the authorities in putting down crime, for their immediate suffering is at the hands of the Police, and this is not calculated to encourage them to go to the support of authority."

VI. MISCELLANEOUS.

13. The INDIAN PATRIOT, of the 3rd December, writes:--"The Extremists have at last resolved to hold their own separate Congress at Nagpur. ~~So we learn from Bombay~~. They have found it impossible to join the Congress in Madras owing to their insurmountable reluctance to leave the four famous Calcutta resolutions to be settled by a majority of the Congress.

The Extremist Congress.

The condition they insisted on was that these resolutions should be binding on all Congressmen, that the leaders should give an undertaking to that effect, and if that undertaking was not respected by the entire body of Congressmen, whatever their opinions, the Extremists as a body would withdraw from the Congress. The responsibility which this implied was too great for any Congressman to undertake. It was not one responsibility but two responsibilities. The first was the obligation to adhere to the condition irrespective of the wish of the majority. the second was the graver one of being held accountable for a scene which the failure to fulfil the first must necessarily result in. A large number of Extremist Congressmen from Nagpur and Poona, coming with the expectation of carrying their point, and compelled afterwards by defeat to withdraw from the assembly with as great an effect as they could impart to the occasion, will do no good to anybody, not even to themselves. It will only be less harmful in its results than the reshing of the platform, at Surat. If the Moderate leaders open the way for such a possibility, ignoring their bitter experience of the past two years, they will have committed an unpardonable blunder. Any attempt at a united Congress, with the clear contingency of radical differences and a split in view, is perfectly useless and positively harmful. And we are not at all sorry that such an attempt has been given up. Those who are going to organise a Congress at Nagpur are nothing if they are not earnest; and if they prefer to work on their own lines without the harassing encumbrance of moderate politicians, nobody has any ground to

complain. Peaceful work on independent lines is far better than unseemly squabbles, and still more unseemly exhibitions on the Congress platform; and the two parties need not come together to break each other's heads. . . . . . . Sir Pherozesha Mehta is perfectly right in the view that he has taken that, under the circumstances, two Congresses are inevitable. We do not feel justified in cherishing any hope to the contrary; for we do not believe that all the noise made about the four resolutions exhausts the fertility of Nagpur and Poona resource. There is nothing to prevent a repetition of the tactitics that preceded Surat, and even the acceptance of the four resolutions will not terminate disputes. Those honest and good-natured men, therefore, who yearn for a united Congress under any circumstances, have not comprehended the nature of the real dispute, its genesis and its purpose. Those who deliberately and of set purpose obstructed the work of the Congress for two successive days and then cried aloud that the Moderates were high-handed and uncompromising cannot be expected to refrain from creating another confusion in Madras. The compromise which they have proposed will once again give them the opportunity to bring another session of the Congress to a disastrous standstill, and no blame, attaches to those who, having experience of their methods, refuse to be guiled by them into an unsuspecting acquiescence. This is plain-speaking; but plainsspeaking has become necessary."

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(b) Courts.

The lesson to be learnt from the INDIA sedition case.

16, The INDIA, of the 28th November remarks:--When Sriman Tilak was tried for sedition, he pleaded that he had a right to claim that the majority of the jurors should be natives whowould be in a better position to understand the articles in question and that he based his right on a promise to that effect contained in the Proclamation of Queen Victoria.

But the court refused to grant his prayer. Similarly in the case against the editor of the INDIA, the accused raised the same question. But the court formed a jury consiting of eight Europeans and one native and with a pretence of doing justice sentenced him to transportation for five years. What is the use of the exitence of these false courts, Judges and laws? They resemble the courts arranged in a theatre which must at any cost give their decisions before daybreak, i.e., the end of the play. So it is useless for us to take our disputes before these courts and expect justice from them. Therefore we must avoid these British Courts entirely and settle our disputes by establishing panchayats among ourselves.

(c) Jails.

17. A correspondent of the INDIA, of the 28th November observes:--It is stated that our Patriot, Sri Chidambaram Pillai, who has been sentenced to six years' transportation, is made to draw an oil-press, like a brute, with fetters on his hands and legs. Alas! The heart flutters when we think of this cruel treatment and the hand trembles when we write about it! When there are ever so many kinds of work to be given to the convicts, should this patriot alone be made to draw an oil-press--a work which will tire even a four-legged beast. Why should fetters be placed on his hands and legs? Perhaps the choice of such cruel punishments for this patriot shows the sharpness of intellect of the officer in charge of the jail! Perhaps he thinks that Sri Chidambaram, having been convicted for sedition, is also his enemy and wants to avail himself of this opportunity to wreak his vengeance on him! This officer is really a valiant man! May the Almighty God open His eyes on this officer! !

Sri Chidambaram in prison.

(k) General.

18. The INDIA, of the 28th November, publishes a cartoon describing the quiet and patient horse of Bengal as kicking against the British rule, unable to bear its sufferings under that rule, and says:--The Englishmen, with the arrogant consciousness of power, partitioned Bengal quite against the will of the people of that province. As if this did not cause enough suffering to the Bengalees, they created other troubles for them; viz., house searches, sedition prosecutions and horrible sentences, secret police, famine, plague, and cruel laws. But there is a limit to the sufferings which even the Bengalees can bear and they have now begun to show that there is such a limit. Are the British going to become wiser at least hereafter? No. If any one advises them in earnest, they pounce upon him. God alone knows how this is to end.

British authority in Bengal

19. The INDIA, of the 28th November writes:--From the speech delivered by the Viceroy recently in Lucknow, it is clear that the English Government has decided to enact some new laws to suppress sedition in India. We are in a position to guess the nature of these laws from the tenor of the memorial submitted to the Viceroy by the Calcutta Chamber of Commerce. In this memorial they have stated that, in cases where an approver happens to die in the interim, his evidence should not be rejected as inadmissible on the ground that it did not stand the test of cross-examination. The very fact that a man turns an approver shows that, by nature, he is a mean-minded person. Moreover, being actuated by a desire to get pardon for himself, he will be prepared to say anything according to the wish of the Police. On these grounds the law has declared, and very reasonably too, that his evidence should not be believed without cross-examination. The motive of those Englishmen, who now plead for the removal of this restriction, is evidently that India should be governed by purely

The next move of the Government.

military law instead of by an apology of a civil law as at present. It is the same motive that has actuated these memorialists to pray also for the establishment of a special court for the trial of seditious offences. Thus the Englishmen are in effect saying: "We had at least the farce of a law till now. If you do not conduct yourself properly, we will stop even that. Take care!" Who knows how mother India is going to reply to this?

21. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 30th November, writes:--We learn from Reuter that the members of the India Office in London are of opinion that it is foolish to state that the conspiracies in British India have reached the masses, that the only things that need be done are detecting the real offenders and punishing them without any delay and that it is a groundless apprehension to think that India is now in as bad a condition as it was in the year 1857. It is really satisfactory to see that this is the opinion of the members of the India Office. Some Englishmen have been for the last two years either ignorantly or wantonly proclaiming that secret attempts are being made to subvert the British rule in India. As a result of a false rumour set afloat by some mischievous persons that secret arrangements were being made to repeat the mutiny of 1857 on the day of its fiftieth anniversary, not only the Englishmen, but the responsible officers of Government also got alarmed and imposed some cruel restrictions on the people. It is only because of this alarm that Lala Lajpat Rai was deported and several leading men of the Punjab were imprisoned and afflicted in many ways. There is reason to think that Lord Morley too was a victim to this alarm. After some time this alarm abated of its own accord. Then, when some mischievous persons in Bengal committed some anarchist deeds, the people at once openly expressed their abhorrence of such deeds and messages of loyalty were sent to

The India Office and the present condition of India.

Simla and London. Within the last one year the loyalty of the Indian public has been declared in various ways. These assurances of loyalty and the gradual opening of their eyes to the real state of affairs have dispelled that groundless fear and strengthened the faith of Lord Minto and Lord Morley in the loyalty of the people. Though the Englishmen still believe that the few anarchists who have been appearing of late are backed by one or more associations, they have come to understand that it is not impossible to root out these association. The Government will have the hearty co-operation of the public in carrying out this object. What is wanted now are not stringent restrictions and a curtailment of the rights of the people. A feeling of confidence must be infused into the minds of the people, and if only the reforms to be published by Lord Morley satisfy the public mind, we make bold to assert that the present feeling between the Government and the people will become a thing of the past.

Special measures to suppress sedition and anarchism.

22. The KERALA PATRIKA, of the 28th November referring to the intention of the Government of India to frame special laws for the suppression of sedition and anarchism in India, remarks that even if such measures are passed, no man could reasonably blame Government for that, considering the heinousness of the murders which have been recently committed by the anarchists. Such murders, moreover, instead of benefitting the country, will only bring evils in their train. The opinion of the majority of Anglo-Indians is that the enactment of special laws and the establishment of special courts to deal with sedition and anarchism will be effective in suppressing such crimes. But although these special measures may tend to suppress the open preaching of sedition, it is doubtful whether they will be effective in bringing to light seditious intentions in the minds of the people or the formation of secret

societies for the carrying out of such intentions. The majority of the people do not approve of the acts of Government, although they ab or these dastardly murders by the anarchists. Conciliatory measures are far more effective in stopping the evils done by such secret societies than repressive measures. It is doubtful whether the expressions of loyalty made at the several loyal meetings held in different parts of the country, are the real sentiments of the people. There is every reason to believe that these meetings are held with a view of securing the faxmx favour of Government and of Government offcicials. It is, because, the European officers in these parts are ignorant of the real sentiments of the people that they put faith in such farces. Any number of meetings of this sort will not allay the discontent among the people. Although the majority of the people hate the actions of the anarchists, the repressive measures of Government, on the other hand, make them view such acts with less hatred. It is at this juncture that Europeans in Africa and other Colonies are oppressing the ix Indians by enacting obnoxious laws against them. In the eyes of the common people of this country, the British Government and white men are identical and therefore the injustice done by white men in any part of the world will be construed by the people as done by the British Government Kindness should, therefore, be the watchwxrd of Government at this crisis.

III. LEGISLATION

The new laws that are to be enacted.

23. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 27th November, writes:--Some say that India has now become another Ireland and the ordinary laws will not suffice now. On this ground they demand that new laws must be passed to meet the exigencies of this troublous period and the Viceroy's Executive Council met yesterday to consider about these new laws. Though every sane man will approve of any law that may be passed in the interest of the country's welfare and public peace, it is qtite reasonable for, and also the duty

of, every one to object to any law which may be passed in haste, without any necessity for the same. That the state of India is quite different from that of Ireland goes without saying. Nearly thirty years back Ireland was in a state of panic. There were riots and conspiracies and any number of deaths as a result of these. Numerous Irishmen assembled in America and conspired to free Ireland from the rule of the British. Inside Ireland itself murder, robbery and desolation reigned supreme. Even the Irish criminal law was enforced, but with no avail. There was a hue and cry in England that new laws should be made to meet the situation. But Mr. Gladstone, being a very farsighted statesman, had recourse only to conciliatory methods and ultimately began to plead for self-government for Ireland. Every statesman, and especially Lord Morley, a disciple of Mr. Gladstone, is bound to walk in the footsteps of that great Minister. Even recently there was a serious riot in Ireland and nearly a hundred constables were thrashed well. On this the London TIMES suggested that the criminal law should once again ~~would not listen~~ ~~to~~ be ~~to be~~ enforced in Ireland. But the present Secretary for Ireland Mr. Birrel, would not listen to this and said that the old laws were enough, even though the Irish public openly declared that they did not care for the law and public meetings were held and resolutions passed insulting the Government. No such scenes have occurred in India. Even though there have been one or two murders and attempts to murder and bombs have been thrown in one or two places, the culprits in these cases are not cultured men, nor are they responsible leaders of the people. So the Government need not, in our opinion, be alarmed by the acts of the few foolhardy youngsters and make grand preparations. The enactment of a new criminal law is deemed an insult by the Indians, who are always loyal to their king. If necessary, the Government may, in view of the disturbed state of the country, introduce some reforms such as suspending trial by jury for some time, strengthening the hands of the Police and instituting a special court for hearing sedition cases, and make arrangements for a speedy disposal of these cases. ~~However~~ But there is no necessity for the enactment of a

new criminal law. How can a criminal law, which did not satisfy and do good to a population of 50 lakhs, be of any avail with a population of 30 crores? Once a wrong step is taken, it is difficult either to withdraw it or to remedy the evil caused thereby. Every one believes that the present laws are sufficient to meet the situation and we will now remind the authorities of the statement of Queen Victoria that in the satisfaction of her subjects would be her protection and in their gratitude her reward.

VI. MISCELLANEOUS.

Novel remedies to remove the discontent of the Indians.

25. The INDIA, of the 28th November writes:--The English statesmen have been of late prescribing novel recipes for removing the discontent of the Indians. The latest doctor who has come forward in this connection is the editor of the DAILY TELEGRAPH. He says: "After the Sepoy Mutiny, India was never in such a condition as it is now. But yet we need not be afraid. One thing we must bear in mind ~~that~~ and that, is that, for a long time to come, India will continue to be more discontented than any other territory under the British rule. If we only stand firm, this is nothing to us. The very continuity of our Government in India has become a question of fact. At this juncture we learn that the people of India are worshipping like God certain persons who were hanged recently. We should not give room to such things. Stringent measures ought to be adopted. All colleges in which the Indians study should be kept closed till this feeling of discontent disappears and stronger laws than what are now in force must be enacted. If the Police in Calcutta cannot discharge their duty properly, the enforcement of these duties must be left in the hands of the Military and the English troops should be strengthened. Besides all these, the zenana ladies have come to be more dangerous enemies to our Government. So they must be very carefully watched."

Excellent recipes indeed! If the benign English Government close all the colleges, fill the streets with the Military and begin to tease even the zenana ladies, its fame will surely spread far and wide!x Will any one take a medicine like this to kill himself?

27. The INDIA, of the 28th November, observes:--Why is it that the many attempts peacefully and constitutionally made by us for the progress of our country have not yet proved successful?

Why have we not succeeded in our object?

(1) We made a vow that we should boycott all connection with foreigners. Should we not keep this vow steadfastly? Should there not be village associations and thousands of lectures to carry out this object? Proper efforts have not been made with regard to all these.

(2) We cried out for national colleges. But, for aught we know, some truly national colleges have been established only in Calcutta and some parts of Bengal. Are five or six colleges enough for a population of thirty crores?

(3) We decided to start punchayats. The English officials cannot impede this in any way, and yet how many punchayats have we established within the last two years? There is none to care for this.

(4) Our leaders preached that young men must be trained as national volunteers. Why should the authorities suspect this movement? If we make them understand our true aim and our invulnerable strength of mind, they cannot impede this. Still no efforts have been made in the country to give a shape to this movement and improve it.

The way to liberty is not strewn with jasmine petals. It is a steep rough path, full of stones and thorns, and it cannot be traversed so easily as some of us think. So our work must be as strenuous as our aim is high. Our country cannot acquire independence by means of one or two cowardly acts. Our only guides must be perseverance and a pure mind.

30. The INDIA, of the 28th November, writes:--Our friends may understand from the two instances given below ~~stand-fre the~~ whether the statement, "We have neither favoured nor disliked and afflicted any one on account of his religious tenets," is true or not.

Is this true?

Firstly, when the Viceroy visited Jodhpur, the Police, insisted on the flags in front of the premises of the Arya Samaj and the school attached to it being removed, simply because the officials thought that the members of the Arya Samaj were instrumental in spreading sedition and therefore the Viceroy might not like to see their mottos.

Secondly, in dismissing one Gulab Chunder from his post in the Sikh Regiment, the Commanding Officer clearly states that it is not for any want of skill on his part but because he belonged to the Arya Samah that he was dismissed.

31. A correspondent of the NYAYABHIMANI, of the 26th November, writes:--Let us see what has been the result of the gagging Act newly passed in British India to prevent the spread of the SWADESHI spirit by means of native newspapers.

The result of the gagging Act

Firstly, the impression has been created that this has been passed because the misdeeds committed under the British rule, being criticised by the native newspapers, happen to reach the ears of Parliament and thereby the rulers are often placed in an awkward position.

Secondly, people think that this law has been enacted because the fact that the natives are treated differently by the rulers from the Whites was being strongly condemned by the native newspapers and thereby the fraudulent acts of the rulers became known to the people at large.

Thirdly, these native newspapers were opposed to the rulers paying thousands of money to their own countrymen in the shape

of salaries and pensions and thereby impoverishing the people of this country. So they were constantly agitating about this and it is to prevent this agitation reaching the ears of the higher authorities that this law is believed to have been passed.

Besides these they have falsely charged many people as having violated this law and got them sentenced to cruel punishments with the help of wrong translations and false evidence! Do all these become a strong system of Government?

Moreover a number of native newspapers have stopped publication as a result of this Act and thus there has been a loss to the Government of nearly Rs.3,00,00,000 owing to the consequent reduction in the Posal revenue. Thus this Act has caused a loss more to the Government than to the people.

A remedy for sedition.

32. The VIJYA, of the 2nd December, reports the SPECTATOR to have written as follows:--Though some attempts are being made to suppress the seditionists and the bomb-throwers in India, nothing has yet been done to root them out completely. Many, who have experience of India, will admit that these lamentable occurrences are created only by the educated people. But these things are caused neither because the Government is not conducted well nor because the people are teased. Since we have educated the people, many of them want to make their education a means of getting employment under the Government. But as the number of students coming out successful from the colleges is greater than the number of vacancies in the appointments under the Government, many of them get disappointed and begins to hate the Government, and having no other work to do, commit the deeds above mentioned. The only way to turn away these students from their present tendencies is to establish training schools in several places to coach up a certain limited number of students specially for Government service in proportion to the number of vacancies in each place. This will prevent every student from aspiring to get into Government service and feeling disppointed when he cannot succeed in his object.

For the week ending 12th December 1908.

No. 50 of 1908.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY NATIVES.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) General.

The official and non-official views on the present situation.

6. The COCHIN ARGUS, of the 5th December, writes:--"The official view of the political situation in India has fortunately not been shaped by the wild stories which have been telegraphed Home by some sensational Press correspondentsor by the advice which has been offered to Lord Morley to increase the British Army in India. The official view is that it would be absurd to compare the present situation with the eve of the Mutiny, and this view will be very generally endorsed in this country. At the same time, it is as well to bear in mind that if effective measures are not taken to suppress such political disorder as prevails in Bengal, we may sooneror later have to realise that the situation has become very like that on the eve of the Mutiny. Mr.Gokhale's advice is that the partition should be modified and political prisoners should receive a general pardon. We do not suppose for one moment that this suggestion will carry the slightest weight with the authorities at Home or in India. A weak and wavering policy must be held largely responsible for the present reign of terror in Bengal, and further exhibition of weakness so far from pacifying Bengal would make it more defiant and truculent. It is clear, however, that the Government has at length opened its eyes. ~~It is clear~~ Calcutta is now to be better policed, a special tribunal to try political offenders is to be created, and other strong preventive measures are to be adopted. This is as it should be, but the mistake should not be repeated of stopping such measures before they have fully accomplished their purpose."

7. Commenting on Sir Andrew Fraser's speech on the 30th November, the MADRAS STANDARD, of the 6th December, writes:--

The present situation.

"It was not to be expected that Sir Andrew Fraser would omit all reference to the unrest in Bengal. We cannot ourselves see either the necessity or the remedial effect of the forging of special weapons to deal with political crime. We have said that in carrying extraordinary measures into effect there is the danger of the innocent suffering with the guilty, a consideration which ought certainly to give pause to the legislator. Special measures, moreover, are not necessary. The law as it exists gives ample power to deal with political crime. In some quarters the issue has been confused. As we have remarked it is the certainty, rather than the swiftness of punishment, that deters criminals. We are surprised to find a paper like the London TIMES making irrelevant remarks in this connection. The worst of it is that such observations tend to obscure the isseu in the minds of not a few and create a wrong opinion among certain sections which are not without influence. However, a just and sympathetic man like Sir Andrew Fraser cannot but take the right attitude on many points relating to this question. He observed that the rulers cannot entertain feelings of vindictiveness against the people generally for the acts of the few. He also took a just view of the situation in Bengal when he said that though certain criminal and anarchical features have sprung out of the unrest they are not of the essence of the case. This aspect of the situation is sometimes forgotten in some quarters. Unless it is kept in view injustice is done to the vast majority of Indians who, though they desire a reform of the existing state of things, have no wish to introduce a revolution still less to resort to anarchical methodsto bring it about. The criminal few, whose balance of mind has been upset, are viewed with detestation by the vast majority of Indians who are loyal and law-abiding. We are glad that this view is held by Sir Andrew Fraser. We have no doubt that his appeal for the non-officials of all classes and races to co-operate with the Govern-

ment in the maintenance of loyalty and putting down of sedition and crime will meet with adequate response. Government should make clear that they welcome such active co-operation, and it is for them to take the initiative in this matter. We are glad that His Excellency the Viceroy has had interviews with leading Indians as regards the present situation. When the head of the Government asks for the opinion and the co-operation of Indians, those who know anything of their character need not be told that their views will be frankly and fully placed before the Government and their help freely and loyally given."

The INDIAN PATRIOT, of the 12th December, writes:--". . . . That Lord Minto has not been served well is the almost universal opinion in India. . . . . . What is wanted is not merely strength, but tact, judgment, and the ability to enlist the sympathy and help of men who are not irreconcilables. While the executive administration has suffered in the hands of incompetent and hot-headed men, the administration of justice has suffered in the hands of untrained men with ill-balanced minds. The observations of the TIMES in this respect are unexpectedly accurate, and they receive full support from some notable recent instances. There are Magistrates and Judges who have never been trained properly for their work. The danger, however, in their case is less than that which arises from the appointment to the High Court bench of men who have neither the training nor the capacity nor the temperament essential in a Judge. The administration of justice is not freed from public contempt by the appointment of such men to the highest judicial office. No doubt, any man who has served as a Judge for five years is legally qualified to become a Judge of the High Court; but not even a genius can be a good High Court Judge with but five years' habitual knowledge of law and procedure in a mofussil court. So far as the native judiciary is concerned, the criticism of the TIMES applies only to subordinate Magistrates. The efficiency of Munsiffs and Judges is beyond dispute, and that of Indian High Court Judges stands at an exceptionally high level rarely reached by their

European colleagues. Even in the executive administration, mere vigour is mistaken for effeciency. Ex The man who can make himself obnoxious to the people at large is often regarded as a strong man. But, as the TIMES shows, such strength does not comprehend qualitites of statesmanship or the ability to deal with unexpected situations. It is one of those common delusions, which many people share, that a large Empire can be always managed merely by strong measures, without the aid of superior minds, inspired b alike by sympathy and wisdom, and enriched by experience of men and affairs. The xx counsel that we have been having is to employ strong measures and at the same time to withhold all reforms. The opposite is exactly what the TIMES insists on as necessary to strengthen the Government, and none but thoughtless men and fanatics will venture to question the wisdom of the latter course."

The INDIAN PATRIOT, of the 12th December, writes:--". . . . The BENGALI has taken up the Champaran riots in all seriousness, and judging from itsx writings, we are afraid feeling in that country is much exercised over the incident. An excited people will never fail to link together the planters' oppression at Bettiah with jailor's oppression at Midnapore or the Boer's oppression in the Transvaal, and it will be unfortunate, indeed, if a whole the Boer's Oppression in the Transvaal, and it will be unfortunate indeed, if a whole people should be sullen and discontented. We have not yet before us Bengal opinion about the new law, but it has ever been against anything of an innovation in the existing ones. The Government have to fight against anarchism, and we are glad to find that respectable Bengali journals like the SANJIVINI AND BANGABASI advising its readers to help the Government, xxxx but if the chemists of Bengal have failed to notify to the Police about the pxxx purchase of chemicals from their shops, it is because the Police have never shown themselves to be of a confiding nature behaving towards them like gentlemen and working up the clue without suspecting the informers themselves. And, with the terrorism by the anarchists which Sir Harvey so much dwells upon, the chemists could not very much rely upon Police protection against the bomb or the revolver in a public

street, when murders could happen in jails or attempts made at a public meeting. There is no denying the fact that the Bengal Police have a good deal to do with the extent of unrest to-day, and if, side by side with special laws for the Police, some reforms could be introduced in the Police also, it would go a long way to conciliate the people and introduce some real peace into a country which has not known peace for a long time."

Indian affairs in Parliament

9. The HINDU, of the 9th December, writes:--"We are gratified to find that the occasion of the second reading of the East India Loan Bill in the House of Commons on Monday last offered an opportunity for the discussion of matters which, otherwise, would have been postponed or abandoned. It is very common for Government to take powers for raising loans, but it must be said at the same time that the purposes for which the loan is raised should be mentioned. Mr.Buchanan, in moving the second reading of the Bill, stated that this year there would be a large balance for capital expenditure on Railways. But, beyond saying that the equipment of Railways and increase of rolling stock demanded more money, he did not specify how exactly it was proposed to expend the money. Dr. Rutherford rightly complained that the House of Commons was treated with contempt with reference to India. The recent additional burden imposed on India as a result of the Romer Commission and the extravagant military expenditure incurred by the Government of India were matters in which the existence of the House of Commons was quietly ignored. It is preposterous to incur heavy and unnecessary expenditure for the extension of Railways, stratagic or otherwise, and for military purposes and then to raise loans to meet further calls. Sir Charles Dilke, it will be seen, inveighed against Railway extentions in the frontier and the increase of military expenditure and characterised the decision of the Romer Committee as 'a deliberate creation of a further griecance for Indians.' The refusal of the Secretary

of State for India to publish the report of the Homer Committee does not seem to us to be the best way of either taking into confidence the English public on a matter on which many retired Anglo-Indian officials feel strongly, or of pacifying the intense dissatisfaction created throughout India."

The INDIAN PATRIOT, of the 9th December, writes:--"The subject of Indian finance does not receive much attention in Parliament even in connection with the Indian Budget debate which is generally of a more political than a financial character; and the budget debate itself occurring long after the debate in the Viceroy's Legislative Council can have little practical effect on the year's revenue and expenditure. The only concession that is made to the advocates of Indian interests is to allow an earlier day than the fag end of the session for the discussion of the Indian Budget; and this hardly makes any difference so far as practical results are concerned. The discussion itself is confined to a handful of members who take a real interest in Indian affairs, the rest having no patience for a discussion which they do not understand and do not care for. But in connection with the East India Loans Bill, just introduced, some informed criticism seems to have been passed on one or two aspects of Indian expenditure. The five millions sterling which is now proposed to be borrowed is intended, as Mr.Buchanan said, to meet any emergency, the emergency, the emergency being as he explained on the second reading of the Bill, to provide for capital expenditure on railways. The present loan will create larger balance than under the Act of 1905, which was for six millions, and four-fifths of this balance will be devoted to improving the equipments of Railways, particularly to increasing their rolling stock. Nobody denies that Railways are useful ~~to increasing~~ things in themselves; they facilitate travel and stimulate commerce; and all those who can easily avail themselves of them would immensely profit by this means of locomotion than by slow country carts and boats. But like ~~the~~ many other good things, railways are sometimes a luxury; and in the case of

India, which has far other pressing needs, the luxury is one which ought to behad on a much smaller scale. But these other needs attract little attention in England, and never appeals to the sympathy of English merchants and capitalists. The cry among these is for more railways; and to construct ~~a~~ a few more thousand miles of them is a coveted achievement for English statesmen who guide the affairs of India. The cry of the Indian public for more irrigation than railways has been a cry in the wilderness, and even Lord Curzon who paid some little attention to this cry saw more than five thousand miles of railway completed in his time. . . . . Drr Rutherford ~~reflected~~ reflected Indian opinion correctly when he protested against ill-considered expenditure on railways, more particularly on railways for strategical purposes. The construction of railways creates one kind of grievance for Indians, while their management creates another. The latter grievance was explained recently by Sir Edward Law in an English journal; but whatever views reasonable people may hold, the railways management is not affected by them, but goes on as before as if the Indian people, whose money is utilised for their construction and for their guaranteed interest and who contribute the largest amount of their income, are of no account whatever. The treatment of Indian passengers, and the total exclusion of Indians from all the well-paid appointments, both constitute an injustice and wrong which there has been no attempt to remedy. Mr.Keir Hardie, indeed, spoke from his ~~xxx~~ own experience gained as a traveller on Indian railways; and mere personal attacks, such as Mr.Rees loves to make as often as he can on all those who speak a word on behalf of India and Indians, cannot affect the stern reality of Indian experience and of the gross injustice of which such experience is the result.

11. The MADRAS STANDARD, of the 12th December, writes:--

Indian military expenditure

" . . . . . . It is an anomalous fact that the Indian reserve is kept in the United Kingdom. And as the United Kingdom draws all the advantages of owning the Indian reserve, it is the British exchequer that should in justice and consistency pay for it. The argument is advanced that India may one day need the reserve. But if India needs it, she would of course be called upon to pay for it. The only occasion when British troops from England were needed in India was during the Sepoy Mutiny and the entire charge was paid by her. As for the effective charges, the contention of the War Office is that but for India the establishment and other charges of recruitment and training the Indian portion of the troops annually recruited would be considerably reduced. But the fact is ignored, that the recruits, so long as they remain in the United Kingdom, do service for the United Kingdom. The question was much discussed by the Select Committee of Parliament on East India Finance in 1874 and Baron Sandhurst gave it as his opinion that the recruits and the officers who train them should be considered as actually doing duty in the United Kingdom. These recruits, so long as they remain in England, do service in home defence, and according to the Government of India Act of 1858 payment made to them from Indian revenues without the consent of parliament is illegal. That India should pay for all the needs of her defence is obviously just. But for expenditure incurred for Imperial purposes she should only pay her proper share and nothing more."

III. LEGISLATION.

12. The MALABAR DAILY NEWS, of the 10th December, writes:-

The new special Act.

"It is understood that the special legislation which is to be introduced to-morrow in the Supreme Legislative Council against anarchism will probably be passed at one sitting, though exactly

what the measure will be is not yet known. Legal opinion, however, is that the sedition provisions of the Indian Penal Code quite suffice for all purposes, the weak point being not in the law itself, but in the leisurely manner in which executive and judicial investigations are conducted. The special tribunal recommended by the commercial community is, it is opined, well qualified to remedy this undesirable procrastination, and it may be hoped that one result of to-morrow's meeting will be the establishment of such ~~strengthened,-~~ ~~from~~ a tribunal, with summary powers. The Police organisation too ought to be strengthened, from a detective of the virtuous as well as a moral point, for it is to be feared that while sometimes the Police exhibit very poor detective acumen, their zeal at other times is scarcely of the virtuous type. It is reported that several Hindu and Muhammadan gentlemen of Calcutta have now banded themselves into a Vigilence Committee to expose and oppose anarchists, and the hope must be expressed that their co-operation with the authorities will be real and help towards the crushing out of the malignant growth. Public co-operation has not come too soon. The monster of anarchy might never have have attained to its present dimensions if the law-abiding sections of the community had realised earlier their bounden duty to society and to the State. We see that the rumour is now being, circulated in Bengal that one of Lord Morley's reforms will consist of either the total upsetting or at least a modification of the partition, and it is just possible that this story has been invented for the sake of the reaction which will in all likelihood set in when it comes to be realised that the partition is to remain an accomplished fact. After the repeated and unequivocal declarations he has made on the subject it is not for one moment to be expected that Lord Morley will at this stage undertake to undo what has been done. That the partition could have been avoided Lord Morley has no doubt admitted, but he has nowhere admitted that the measure was such as to justify the sinister campaign still being waged against it."

The INDIAN PATRIOT, of the 11th December writes:--". . . . It will be noticed that the change in procedure will consist in an EX PARTE trial before the Magistrate, and after committal, the hearing of the case by a tribunal, constituted of three High Court Judges, instead of a Judge and jury. There are, indeed, cases which, in the interests of justice, can be best tried by such a tribunal, instead of by a jury; it may be hoped that all such cases, in which justice is found to fail at the hands of a jury, will be transferred to this tribunal hereafter. Another change is in connection with the admission of ~~this tribunal~~ evidence untested by cross-examination, and is the result of the murder of the approver Gossain. We are not sure that a single instance of that nature is sufficient for such a change in the law; but it is coupled with the safe-guard that such evidence will be admitted, only if the Judges are satisfied that the witness was killed in the interests of the defence.

"The part of the Bill dealing with Meetings and Associations is of a doubtful kind, and may not unnaturally tend to interference with legitimate rights. It is an offence to take part in Associations declared to be unlawful, and to make or solicit contributions on its behalf or to render assistance to it. The penalty imposed is imprisonment which may extend to three years. The act will be confined to the two provinces of Bengal for the present; but it may be extended to other provinces by a notification. That is, indeed, a redeeming feature. As a general rule, laws passed in consequence of local circumstances have been applied to the whole of India. In the present instance that has been avoided. But we do not like legislation by notification; and there would have been no harm if there was not this provision, since in case of necessity a Bill extending the Act to any particular province could be easily passed at a single sitting of the Legislative Council without any effort or ceremony."

The MADRAS STANDARD, of the 12th December, writes:- "The long telegram from Calcutta, which we publish elsewhere explains

the character and scope of the new law. We fully understand the object of the Government and certainly share their anxieties. But so far we have yet seen no convincing justification has been urged in favour of the enactment of the new law in its present form. Can we be sure that this law will root out the poisonous growth of anarchical crimes and sedition? In spite of all that has been said in the Imperial Legislative Council there is no evidence to show that with the exception of a few individuals, who seem to have (+) empowered to adopt summary processes and against the decisions of which there is no appeal may be an indirect and unconscious means of punishing the innocent with the guilty. It will all depend upon what the Police do. We may say the same with regard to the new provision regarding what are called unlawful associations What we want to know is whether the psychology of the new crime has been clearly and fully assertained? Have the dastardly deeds which have been committed in Bengal been due to the slowness of the procedure adopted to bring the guilt home to the criminals concerned? Cannot the guilty be punished under the existing law with swiftness and severity? Has not the young man who attempted to shoot Sir Andrew Fraser been punished within a few days after the commission of the crime? Swiftness, certainty, severety and justice are all secured by the operation of the law in force. Nor can the much aspersed lawyers interfere with its course. In no recent case that we have been aware of the culprit escaped the just vengeance of the law, and after all it is the certainty and severity of the punishment within a reasonably short time that we want, and this the existing provisions of the Criminal Law adequately secure."

The HINDU, of the 12th December, writes:--"In the closing sentences of his speech yesterday, in the discussion on the Anti-Anarchist Crimes Bill in the Imperial Council, His Excellency the Viceroy said that the development of the future of this country and its success depended not only upon the united efforts and co-operation of British and Indian administrators, but also upon the sense of the Indian community upon whose active

(+) become criminal lunatics, there is anybody anywhere who is apt to turn law-breaker. But the special tribunal to be created by the new law, which is

assistance a great deal depends. Lord Minto concluded by saying, 'I would earnestly ask the members of every race, of every caste, and of every creed to unite in one common effort to put an end to the dark plots and apprehensions of hidden danger which are crippling the daily life of the people. I would ask them to assist the Government of India in removing the causes which have unfortunately necessitated to-day's legislation.' We hope the entire public will respond most heartily to the noble call, made by His Excellency, for the exercise by them of the duties of citizenship and of patriotism, and would help to co-operate with the Government in the suppression of anarchism and other engines of social disorder and destruction. It is difficult, however, to resist the conviction that the evil which has manifested itself in certain parts of the country has been to a considerable extent over rated both in this country ~~has been to~~ and in England, and the need for a repressive legislation of the kind which was passed yesterday is much less clear to those who have a close acquaintance with the state of the country than to those who prompted the legislation and who passed it yesterday. The sentiments of the Indian public were given accurate expression to in the Council by the Hon'ble Dr.Rash Behari Ghose, whose admirable speech is a patriotic, forcible and pointed presentment of the situation from the popular side. Dr-Ghose pointed out that the initiation of this drastic legislation at a time when we are on the eve of the long expected reforms, was unfortunate. We think public opinion will endorse his view of the matter, although His Excellency the Viceroy differed from it. It seems to us that if the reforms so soon to be announced are such as would inspire a widespread feeling of contentment and satisfaction, they might go a great way to remove the maladies for which the repressive legislation is intended and devised. There is no gainsaying the fact that whatever urgency and necessity are pleaded for the legislation, it is calculated, as framed, to interfere with the course of the ordinary law obtaining in an enlightened country and to affect some fundamental rights of its citizens. As. Dr.Ghose observed

the condition of Ireland when the Prevention of Crimes Act was passed, upon the analogy of which the present legislation has been framed, was very different from the state of things now in India. . . . . . He also put the pertinent question, 'Has the ordinary law been found inadequate to deal with disorder?' The London TIMES received to-day, and whose article on 'the situation in India' we publish elsewhere, seems inclined to take a more sober view of this matter than the Anglo-Indian organs and says that the law in India is adequate, if properly enforced, and more stringent laws should not be enacted without clearly proved necessity. It is extraordinary under such circumstances that Sir Edward Baker, the new Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, should seek to support the necessity for the legislation by the opinions of men in England, of men, among whom were, as he naively put it, 'not a few who have no direct or personal connection with this country.' Nor is there any convincing ground why so drastic a law as the present should have been introduced and passed at a single sitting of the Council, without the provisions of its having been published beforehand and without allowing the public any opportunity of discussing it. The second part of the Bill relating to Associations is in its terms of a sweeping character and is subversive of the fundamental rights of citizens. . . . ."

The INDIAN PATRIOT, of the 12th December writes:--"There will be a more general acceptance of the necessity of the law that was passed yesterday by the Viceroy's Legislative Council than there has ever been in regard to any measure of a similar nature What is called repressive legislation, that is, legislation which has the effect of curtailing the rights of the people and creating new offences began in the year 1898 in consequence of certain occurrences in the Western Presidency. . . . In regard to none of the previous measures was the Government so well able to carry the public with it; and they were more or less carried in the teeth of opposition without the Government being able to establish the necessity for them. But the present legislation is of a quite different character. With regard to it, the public at large are not in a mood even to

question its expediency of efficacy. On the other hand, public opinion generally will be on the side of Government, whose patience, it must be admitted, has been severely tried within the past few months. For this, the few fanatics in Bengal who organised murder and dacoity have to be thanked. It is they that brought about a situation which created dismay in the minds of all peaceful people. The crimes which Sir Harvey Adamson detailed have been perpetrated as part of an organised plan. They show how unsafe life and property have become in that part of India. As His Excellency the Viceroy said, by playing upon the weak minds of boys, these conspirators have brought ruin on many a youth and misery on many a family. That the evil is one which must be promptly grappled with, so that it may not vitiate more youthful minds will be freely admitted; and it cannot be said that the Government has proceeded too hastily in introducing the legislation.

"It is to the infinite credit of Lord Minto's Government that they have shown admirable patience and self-restraint under the most provoking circumstances. They cannot be said to have been moved by panic or egged on to hasty measures by abuse. Such a charge might be laid against them as regards some of their earlier measures or mistakes. But the two latest measures of legislation have been amply justified by circumstances. Sheer necessity forced both upon them. . . . The law now enacted was necessitated by shocking outrages and murders; and the Government cannot be said to have taken more powers than their honest judgment has shown to be necessary. The state of public feeling, both in England and in India, is such that even if they enacted more severe laws there would be little inclination to be too critical. But they wisely resisted the temptation to take advantage of the opportunity to assume much larger powers than they deem to be absolutely necessary. In providing a special tribunal of three Judges of the High Court, they have shown a due regard for the interests of justice; for such a tribunal is bound to command a degree of public confidence which a single Judge sitting with jury cannot claim in all cases. . . . .

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"As regards the Associations contemplated by the law, it cannot be contended that there is no necessity to deal with them. Organised crime has to be attacked by attacking the organisations which initiate and prosecute them; and it is apparent that organisations do exist which have for their aim and object murder and dacoity. . . . . We hope, however, that great care will be taken in putting the law into operation. The destruction of organisations designed for the perpetration of crime of any kind can be easily accomplished with the help of the new law, the mere enactment of which will result in their disappearance. And when the anarchists have returned to good sense, and ceased prosecuting their nefarious plans, the Government, as Sir Harvey Adamson said, will not be unwilling to repeal the law. It is a special measure enacted to meet a special situation, and may well disappear with the necessity which created it. On the whole, the attitude of the Government is perfectly reasonable; and the lesson to be learned from recent repressive measures is that violence and crime and anarchism; instead of serving any good cause, tend merely to curtail the liberty of the subject and to impose on him new penalties. Those who have been prostituting patriotism for purposes of murder and loot will understand, if they have sense, that they are the worst enemies of their country, and people much more than of the Government, whose resources they have not the understanding to comprehend."

The UNITED INDIA AND NATIVE STATES, of the 12th December, writes:--"The situation in Bengal has not in any respect altered for the better in spite of any convictions of seditious writers and the prosecutions of those who are alleged to have taken part directly or indirectly in the terrorist conspiracy. The Anglo-Indian community and the organs which have all along advocated stern measures for putting down the propaganda of violence are demanding the enactment of drastic laws for the trial of political offenders. It is not inconceivable that they should lose their mental equipoise at a time when the lives

of Englishmen and Englishwomen in India are exposed to the fanaticism of a gang inspired by blind hatred. But we implore the India Government to pause before they pass measures which may be found afterwards to have failed in realising their objects, but which may subject law-abiding people to police oppression and even unmerited punishment and be the means of driving harmless people to connive secretly at the plots of misguided few. It is not yet realized that the conspiracy if there is one organized in Bengal, does not embrace a wide area but is probably in the hands of a very small group of individuals. The demand for a special tribunal is not justifiable on the basis that hitherto the ordinary criminal courts have failed to discharge their duties. Every prosecution for sedition has resulted in conviction and in very heavy sentence sometimes, with the exception of one or two cases where the evidence adduced was thoroughly inadequate and unreliable to found any conviction upon. We are not so simple as to imagine that the mere dread of punishment has had any appreciable effect upon the terrorists, nor can we admit that the long drawn.out trials involving all the ordinary forms of procedure have given any encouragement to a renewal of ferocity. Summary trials and the denial of the right of appeal cannot by any means convince them that they cannot with impunity defy the law of the land. It is necessary to recognize that the members of the plot must be men who have passed the line that separates regard for personal safety from utter recklessness. We are of opinion that the ordinary forms of law are quite adequate to grapple with the situation, and the contemplated changes may not intimidate the violent spirits but inflict unnecessary suffering on respectable individuals.

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The MADRAS STANDARD, of the 13th December writes:--". . . . There will certainly be a ready and full panic response to the appeal made by His Excellency the Viceroy in the concluding sentences of his speech. We have always been of opinion that the best and the most effective manner of putting down anarchical crimes and sedition is by the Government and the people co-operat-

ing with each other in that behalf. Peace, tranquillity and order are the best and the most sacred interests of India, and every citizen should strive his utmost to maintain them. But at the same time we are not quite sure whether a special law of the kind, in its present form, is absolutely the best weaøpon with which the end in view can be attained. If what appears in the press correctly represents the situation in Bengal, we do not know whether x a special ~~tyranny~~- tribunal and a drastic law to deal with public associations are at all necessary. What we are anxious about is that any possibly unjust and oppressive operation of the new Law~~-abiding-a~~ should not alienate the sympathy and good-feeling of the loyal and law-abiding section of the people. It must be understood that whatever the lawx is, it is Police underlings who, at the end of the official scale, are responsible for its being put into operation. If the forms of regular appeal are preserved there is the hope that the ~~established~~ miscarriage of justice, even at a time of panic, can be prevented. But when the establishmedk forms of procedure are dispensed with, what guarantee is there that what finally took place in the case of the innocent persons arrested in connection with the Midnapore conspiracy, will come to pass to the great xx relief of the law-abdxd abiding section of the public. Itx is, of course, true that the Anglo-Indian press is still on the warpath, and even the most moderate of them wants more stringent and rigorous laws. When have the Anglo-Indian press is still on the warpath, and even the most moderate of them wants more stringent and rigorous laws. When have the Anglo Indian newspapers and their friends in England not wanted repressive laws? Even under the most normal conditions they have shouted repres- ~~sive-laws?~~--E aloud for cramping legislation and for summary methods. But responsible Government officers are not to be guided by panic-mongers and excited irresponsible critics. Sir Harvey Adamson enumerated the number of cases of anarchical crimesin Bengal. Does it show that the people of Bengal are disaffected? Does it prove that the bulk of/the Bengali population

have any the remotest sympathy with the propaganda of sedition ? The heart of the people of Bengal, as Sir Andrew Fraser indicated in his last speech in Calcutta, is sound; and what is necessary is the devising of methods to enlist the active co-operation of the people in eradicating the new crime which has admittedly disgraced Bengal but which in spite os all the exaggerations is confined to a few crazy individuals who could be detected and punished with the assistance of the people. We share the hope that the new law is a temporary measure, and that it would be repealed as soon as the cause or causes which gave rise to it have been effectively removed."

VI. MISCELLANEOUS.

15. The CARLYLEAN, for the 1st and 3rd weeks of August, (received only on the 7th instant) writes:--". . . . . In their lucid intervals, many of the Moderates confess that the Congress, as it is, is more a show. No honest, sincere, and self-respecting man should have anything to do with a show. It is not by shows that the world progresses. It is not show-mongers that further the cause of God and man. Is is not now that we are against this so-called Indian National Gongress, for the first time. Long before the nationalist party saw the light of day, we had no high opinion of this congress and of many of its leaders or misleaders.

The stiffening of Congress

"We do not see why even now nationalists want reunion with those unscrupulous and heartless quaks who have held them up as seditionists and rowdies and who have called upon the autho-rities to prosecute them indirectly. We, for one, would rather be a dog and bay the moon than be such a nationalist. If nationalists have no faith in God, Truth, Right, Righteousness and in their higher selves, they will do well to retire at once in a body from the world into caves and jungles for penance instead of seeking reunion with those who shun them like pariahs. We request all nationalists to study the genesis

and growth of political parties in all progressive countries, and to build their own party and organisation on sound and stable basis. If nationalists are sober and steady, evolutionary and dignified, in their thoughts, words, and deeds, the bureaucracy cannot touch a hair of them. Many of those who call themselves nationalists and pose as such, lack all those qualities which they ought to possess for the success and good name of the new movement; and it is these that have done infinite harm to more than its enemies, Indian or foreign. We have been drawing attention to the drawbacks of these nationalists all along even before the commencement of the present repression.

"And then where is common-sense or consistency in your clinging to the garment hems of those who do not respect you in the least? Many of our nationalist friends seem to have queer ideas of self-respect. With the deference to them, we say that licking the feet that kick is the reverse of noble and dignified compromise. Even now, if all nationalists grow more patient and boycott the Congress, it will soon reach the tether of its existence. There is absolutely no use trying at this stage to stifen the Congress--a body which does not at heart stand for liberty."

16. The CARLYLEAN, for the 1st week of September (received only on the 8th December) writes:-

Social Reform and SWARAJ.

"The attainment of SWARAJ either within or without the British Empire without social reform is an absolute impossibility. Without genuine union between various castes and classes that inhabit this land, India cannot get SWARAJ; and without social reform, there can be no genuine union between them. Where the sway of caste is rife, there can be no SWARAJ. Caste and SWARAJ exclude one another. Caste means inequality, privilege, and tyranny; whereas SWARJ means equality, fraternity, and liberty.

"How can we hope to attain to SWARAJ, without removing the many unnatural and artificial barriers that at present divide us

Indians? Can we get SWARAJ without abolishing early marriages and ceasing to be a 'baby-born' race? Can we reach it without ceasing to be slaves to custom, priest, and superstition in various spheres of live? Can we bring it about without recognising the dignity of labour and the humanity and brotherhood of nearly 50 millions of so-called pariahs whom we treat worse than pariah dogs actually?"

"We, for one, think that a Nationalist who gights shy of social reform and who wants to bring about SWARAJ without social reform, is not a true patriot in the right sense of the term. It is not true patriotism which wants to bring about political equality while perpetrating gross social inequalities."

The Extremists in Conference.

17. The MADRAS STANDARD, of the 4th December, contains the following:--"In the latest issue of the INDU PRAKASH of Bombay an account is published of the proceedings of the Extremists' Conference at Bombay at which it was decided to hold a separate Congress at Nagpur. If what the author of the report says is true 'very few of the members of the Congress Continuation Committee cared to attend. There was not a single Bengalee, or Madrasee or Punjabee Extremist.' Though reporters were excluded from the Conference, the friends of those who were present were admitted. It is stated that the representative character of the meeting itself was challenged. But the most interesting portion of the report we are alluding to is that the Conference had a creed of its own. Here is what the INDU PRAKASH account says:--'But to begin with the beginning, all those who wanted to go in, were made to sign a creed which ran thus:--"I am a Nationalist and I am of opinion that a separate Congress of the Nationalists should be held." The objectionable feature of the Madras Indian National Congress is, in the eyes of the Extremists, its creed. But it is disgusting to note that the Extremists, wherever they have met in secret conclave, have

taken care to exclude men who would not sign their varying hand-and-foot binding creeds.' It was to the creed of the Convention that these gentlemen objected. But strangely enough, they have a creed of their own. The objection, then, is to the creed of other people but not to their own, which existed, if what a correspondent stated in our columns is true, even at the time of the Surat split, possibly in a nebulous condition. However, creed or no creed, the Conference seems to have been an exciting affair, for there was an opposition the members of which declared that they would make themselves heard 'unless bodily removed'. We will here reproduce what the report in question says:--'Mr. Phansalkar told the Extremists they were not a strong party and that the meeting itself was in no sense a representative one. There were already very few public workers in the country and if they were again to be split into two contending, warring factions, the cause of the nation would materially suffer. They had to proceed cautiously as they stood at the parting of the ways. Mr.Kelkar in the main supported Mr.Phansalkar and impressed on the audience the necessity of cool conduct. A hasty and precipitate step would land them in difficulties and damn them as a party. Mr.Kelkar was of opinion that the Extremists should hold no Congress this year. Babu Motilal Ghose was also of the same opinion said, he without whose leadership the Extremists would find themselves crippled. . . . The redoubtable Mr.Munje, the famour eye-surgeon of Nagpur, repeated the Ramaswami incident by challenging without book Mr.Kelkar's assertion in regard to Mr.Motilal Ghose's attitude. The fact came out that soon after the publication of Sir Pherozeshah's letter on the Congress, Mr.C.V.Vaidya wrote a letter to Mr. Motilal, criticising Sir Pherozeshah. Mr.Motilal in reply to Mr.Vaidya's letter wrote in a despondent tone and expressed himself generally against the idea of holding a separate Congress.' We are told that Mr.Kelkar of the MAHRATTA and one or two others ~~of-the-IN~~ voted against the proposal to hold a separate Congress. But since the publication of the INDU PRAKASH version, another account, which is said to be authoritative, has been published which we print elsewhere. For our part we are not concerned, one way or the other, with either of these accounts."

18. The INDIAN PATRIOT, of the 9th December, writes:--

The Muslim League.

"We print a communication to-day from a correspondent who is fully qualified to offer sound advice on the matter he deals with. We have heard a good deal about the differences to which he refers; but we think that they can, and ought to be, settled without prejudicing the permanent interests of the community. The Muhammadans of Madras, like their brethren elsewhere, are a highly sensitive people; and in organising a political Association among them, especially by men from outside, due regard had to be shown for local sentiments and prejudices. The object of the proposed league, as defined in the speech of Mr.Muhammad Mahomed Khan Bahadur, is one which must appeal to the sympathy of all classes of the people. It is not antagonistic to any other Indian community. Intended exclusively for the benefit of the Muhammadans, without any aim of hostility to others, it may be compared to the SWADESHI movement as dissociated from boycott. The former is purely advancement of one's own interests; the latter means such advancement by means of hostility to others. The policy, therefore, which has been sketched by the promoters of the Muslim League is one which will commend itself to right-thinking men. But, for its success in Madras and for the success of the organisation itself, it is important that the leaders of the local Muhammadan community must actively identify themselves with the movement. It may be easy enough to set up a body called the Muslim League; but if it is created without the consent and co-operation of the principal local leaders, it is hardly likely that the institution will endure, or will prove very useful while it endures. It is hardly wise to attempt to create an organisation independently of genuine local support or in disregard of local feeling and opinion. That some degree of disregard has been shown is apparent from what our correspondent says. We hardly think that the Muhammadan community have made sufficient advance in political life that they can afford to start with serious differences. If they are to succeed at all, they must act with unanimity among themselves, acknowledging

the lead of those who are competent to lead. Government servants, among whom are found several of the most capable members of the Madras Muslim community, cannot take part in the movement. Hence the wisdom and energy to guide it must come from those who, to their social position and influence in the community, add ability and judgment of the desired degree and zeal for the common welfare. There is no use forcing a League in the face of differences among educated sections and when the masses of the community are, as our correspondent says, opposed entirely to any organisation of the kind. If the divided sections are to be united, and if the masses are to agree, the influence of the local leaders ought to be enlisted with tact and judgment. The facts set forth by our correspondent do not show much tactful management, to say the least; and in the interests of Muhammadans progress we hope the promoters of the movement will not delude themselves to believe that by merely starting a League without enlisting the support of all the most influential among local Muhammadans, anything will have been done to provide for an organised expression of genuine local Muhammadan opinion."

19. The MADRAS STANDARD, of the 10th October, writes:--

Mussalmans and the National Congress.

"At the present day when Indian Mussalmans have abandoned their attitude of alooftness from and apathy to political activity and when Mussalman political associations are being formed all over the country it is well to pause and ask oneself the question whether the lines on which the political work by Mussalmans is conducted are in consonance with the best interests of the community as well as of the Indian nation of which it forms a part. What is the attitude that Mussalmans ought to adopt towards the Congress of which a late illustrious member of their community was once the President? In a very able and suggestive article in the current number of the HINDUSTAN REVIEW, Mr.A.S.Tyabji, Judge of the High Court at Baroda, discusses the

the question in all its aspects. Analysing the cuases which have kept Muhammadans aloof from the Congress, Mr.Tyabji is of opinion that these fall under two main heads. It has been thought that joining the congress would be playing false to the Muhammadan idea of loyalty which demands of them complete acquiescence in all acts of Government since a they think it is Government alone that can decide what share the people should have in the administration. Again it is held that since the Congress is composed mostly of Hindus, these would naturally be inclined to make such demands of the Government as would further their interests ~~haxe leave very lit~~ at the expense of the Muhammadans. Mr.Tyabji's answers to these questions leave very little to be desired. He has not difficulty in showing that a change has come over the spirit of the dream of the east. Even the Muhammadans of Turkey hold now that loyalty x to their sovereign is not incompatible with the desire of the people to share in the administration of their country. As Mr.Tyabji finely says, to be loyal is to pay due deference to the constituted authorities and to assist them in every way in their efforts to promote the happiness of the people. In doing that one of the main functions of loyal people is to point out 'in time' such grievances as may be in existence and not to let the authorities labour wkm under any misapprehension that there are no grievances to redress, since none are pointed out. Congressmen, at any rate, those who belong to the reconstituted Congress, adopt this attitude, That the Moderate leaders have not thought it advisable to proclaim their loyalty from house-tops is due to their own self-respect. They have worked openly in the face of the constituted authorities and the people for a quarter of a century and they do not think it necessary for them to make public protestations on points well known even to the most hostile critics. But loyalty to British rule does not mean that Congress men are to sit quiet and not point out the shortcomings of the present administration and claim such rights and privileges as the country is fit for at present. Mr.Tyabji, indeed, thinks that the aloofness of Muhammadans fxx from the Congress is to a certain extent respon-

sible for the rise of the present unrest since it prevented the Congress from pressing its claims in a way which would have been possible otherwise. However, there is a good deal of force in Mr.Tyabji's contention that the formation of separate political bodies splitting up India into several camps and making separate demands on behalf of each of such camps will not in any way strengthen the political situation. Would it not be far better following the advice of the late Mr.Justice Badruddin Tyabji, to have a central association representing the whole of India such as the Congress which could speak in the name of India, instead of in the name of sectional coteries? There is work for the Muslim League independent of the Congress in so far as it attends to the wants and necessities of Muhammadans, but why should Muhammadans not join the Congress to press claims the benefits of which are for all Indians? If a difference arises as to the manner in which such rights as are granted should be enjoyed, there is the Muslim League to make known the practical difficulties that may crop up by the Muhammadans being in minority and suggest such remedies as may appear to them feasible. It is only in the case of those Muhammadans who have made up their minds without serious consideration that it would be detrimental to the interests of their community to join a Congress composed, for the greater part, of Hindu delegates that the Congress does not appear sufficiently loyal. The Government have certainly not considered the Congress as a body tainted with disloyalty. A large majority of the Congress leaders are men whose public services have been appreciated on various occasions. Why, then, should Muhammadans keep away from the Congress on the ground that their loyalty does not allow it?

"Probably the Muhammadan minority has a fear that it will not be dealt with fairly by the Hindu majority. Now let us ask this question, Has the Congress pressed for any rights during the last 25 years which would have especially beneffted the Hindus at the expense of the Muhammadans? If it had, men like

the late Mr. Justice Tyabji, the late Mr.Sayani, Nawab Saiyid Muhammad and others would not have kept up their connection with the Congress movement? Are not the fears that the Congress would overlook the claims of minorities groundless? Under the new constitution framed at ~~the-claims-of-minorities-groundles-~~ Allahabad, Muhammadan interest are absolutely safeguarded by providing (1) that as far as possible one-fifth of the total representatives in the All-India Congress Committee shall be Muhammadans and (2) that no subject shall be passed for discussion by the subjects Committee or allowed to be discussed at any Congress by the President thereof to the introduction of which the Hindu or Muhammadan delegates object as a body or by a majority of $\frac{3}{4}$ths of their number; and if after discussion of any subject which has been admitted for discussion it shall appear that the Hindu or Muhammadan delegates as a body or by a majority of $\frac{3}{4}$ths of their number are opposed to the resolution which it is proposed to pass thereon such resolution shall be dropped; and (3) in any representatives which the Congress may make or in any demands which administration of the country the 'interests of the minorities shall be duly safeguarded.' Well may Mr.Tyabji ask what political association has ever so safeguarded the interests of minorities. If it was ever needed, the proof of the BONA FIDES of the majority is evident. Are the ~~Government~~ Muhammadans in a position to say frankly why they decline to join the Congress when the Extremists have left that body and a constitution so framed that their interests are absolutely protected? If so, let us have such reasons in detail given to us by a leader like His Highness the Agha Khan. Let him tell us why we should ever be singing the praises of the Great Akbar for having welded together his Muhammadan and Hindu subjects and yet in the time of the Great Queen and her son, the peace maker, it is the duty of the Muhammadans to keep themselves aloof from their Hindu brethren. We have seldom met with so powerful and destructive a criticism of the position of those Muhammadans who keep aloof from the Congress as that which Mr.Tyabji puts forward, or a successful construction of the for a political organisation like Congress.

of the plea for a political organisation like the Congress which represents the interests of all communities in India. We commend the arguments put forward by Mr.Tyabji to all educated Muhammadans, and we have no doubt that on reflection they will find the eminently sound ~~th~~ and reasonable position ~~s~~ that Mr. Tyabji holds to be unassailable."

Undiciplined elements in the Congress parties.

20. In an article on the undisciplined elements in the Congress parties, the INDIAN PATRIOT, of the 10th December, has the following:--"That the 'undisciplined elements' have done a great deal of harm will be admitted generally, if not by all. Men inexperienced in public life, and without any sense of responsibility, were enlisted as camp followers. They 'obeyed orders' at Surat without understanding what the orders meant. Any number of men were enlisted as delegates; some carried sticks with them; some purchased them on the way; and all boasted of their achievement after having flourished them at Surat. A more disorderly rabble could not have been gathered together. Every honest politician, to whichever side he may belong by reason of his conviction and principles, has been disgusted with this display of rowdyism; and it is difficult to suppose that any such person can view, without concern, the fate of a gathering with such elements in it. The rules of the Constitution merely provide against contingencies which such elements may create, but will not in the least affect any peacefully disposed person, whatever may be his politics. We are for the largest toleration ~~must observe~~ subject to the condition that all must accept British rule as a settled fact; all must observe the common rules; and all must obey the authority of the chair. Those who have conscientious objections to agree to these conditions cannot work with men who are firmly pledged to them. Between them there is an unbridgable ~~fatg~~ gulf; and there is little use in crying for a compromise ignoring this most essential difference between the two. Let those who cannot agree appeal to public

opinion, and influence it as much as they can, and try to gain strength and force. That is a quite legitimate course, If they thinkk that they have a better right to speak in the name of the country, let them do so. The other party claim no higher rights; they insist only that all who are with them must be men who profess the same principles and aims with them. When there are to be two Congresses, there is no meaning in talking of one party excluding the other. The idea of exclusion is consistent with the assumption of a superior right to continue the old organisation."

21. The MADRAS STANDARD, of the 11th December, writes:--

Bengal and the Congress.

"Bengal has been asked not to go back upon its past at the dictation of Sir Pherozeshah Mehta and the general body of Conventionists. But the critic who makes this call upon his fellow-countrymen wants them to do his own bidding. Bengal is thus called upon to make its choice between two alternatives, and we hope that it is astute enough to know its own interests and to be guided by them. It is argued that pledged as Bengal is to a united Congress it cannot stultify itself by joining either of the two Congresses but must still continue to work for a thoroughly representative and national assembly in the future. Bengalees are accordingly advised to hold themselves aloof until such time as a united Congress can be brought about. It is at the same time assumed that the previous Congresses were all national and representative assemblies which completely fulfilled the conditions that would satisfy Bengal. The negotiations for holding what was called a united Congress were based upon the constitution--or shall we say the want of it? --furnished by the previous Congresses. If the Surat Convention and its handi-work had all been summarily swept aside at the command of certain Calcutta politicians, forthwith would have issued, we are told, out of that destructive operation a national and representative organisation well-equipped to carry on the

political work of the country from year's end to year's end, without a break, of course, in spite of the accumulated weight of experience. . . . . . We refuse to believe that Bengal, with all its sanity of judgment and its lessons of experience, will be guided by its advice which is so freely and thoughtlessly offered to it. If Bengalees stay away from the Madras Congress in the hope that by so doing in the near or far-off future the Congress on the old lines can be resuscitated for the display of undisciplined enthusiasm and to let loose the forces of disorder and hooliganism, they will wait only to be sadly disappointed. It will also be setting a bad example calculated to retard natinal progress and to promote provincial isolation and a sort of provincial patriotism of a most objectionable type. Supposing the Congress on the old lines is revived, what then? Does any one our Bedlam seriously believe that, acting in the spirit of the present teaching in Bengal, it is impossible for some of its old opponents to hold a congress of their own and stigmatise the old one as a sectional or sectarian Congress, as indeed it used to be called alike by its Indian and Anglo-Indian opponents? If Bengal follows the advice offered to it, will it not be doing the very thing which some of the most prominent Bengalees have in the past deprecated in the Indian enemies of the Congress movement? If Congressmen in Bengal deliberately decline the invitation of Madras, or, for the matter of that, of Nagpur, they will be committing the very fault for which they have blamed some of the Indian communities who have hitherto kept aloof from the Congress. One of two things they must do. They must attend either the Madras Congress or the Nagpur Congress, or attend both as the convictions and opinions of individual Congressmen incline them to. If, however, like Achilles sulking in his tent, they stand sternly apart from both, they cannot escape the charge of peevishness and petulance. Discipline, order and organisation are the factors in the evolution of a sound and stable democracy. One of the behests of democratic teaching is, submission to the will of the majority, the principle of which is contained in discipline and order as agents

of progress. If Bengal casts all past human experience and the lessons of collective human wisdom to the winds we shall have to say it with regret, but say we must, that it has reached what political economists, call the stationary stage of its progress. . . . . Let us hope that the wise and enlightened politicians of Bengal will muster strong in Madras in support of the great Bengali leader the Hon'ble Dr.Rash Behari Ghose who has undertaken a task in the performance of which he stands in need of, and, indeed, deserves the hearty co-operation of all loyal Congress-men of the constitutionalist persuasion."

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

II.HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(c) Jails.

Treatment of prisoners in the Coimbatore Jial.

27. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 5th December, remarks:--Chidambaram Pillai, who was the ninth witness for the defence in the Coimbatore jail riots case, has stated that the convicts in this jail were greatly teased, that they were beaten horribly and that one convict was forced to eat even human excreta. He has also said that the meals served out to the convicts was full of mud and stone particles, and that though all this was reported to the Inspector-General of Jails, no notice was taken of it. If all these statements are true, it becomes very necessary that the Government should introduce strong disciplinary measures to improve the administration of the Coimbatore jail.

(k) General.

The King is the cause of the present condition of India.

30. The VIJYA VIKATAN, of the 21st November, says:--It is only the King of a country that is the cause of the appearance of famine and disease, riots and war and other such horrible events in that country, and this applies to India too. Lord Elgin, when he was the Viceroy, raised the taxes inordinately

and this vexed the people. But the King never cared for this and the immediate results were the disturbances in the Khyber Pass, the appearance of the bubonic plague in Poona, and general unrest among the people. Then Lord Curzon came as the Viceroy of India and partitioned Bengal, and the results of this partition have not yet disappeared. Murders and conspiracies have only increased.

"We can never be improved by the reforms of the Englishmen."

31. The INDIA, of the 5th November, writes:--Mr.Ghokhale is preaching to the people of England that if they grant to the Indian the reforms he suggests, the very next day the Indians and the Anglo-Indians will begin to move as brothers. But the Englishmen will never make any reforms that will help the progress of the Indians. Will any one in this world take in poison to kill himself? Our present downful is the cause of all the greatness of the Englishmen, and if we improve, they will be reduced to a lower condition than ours. Thus, for example, the weaving industry in our country has been gradually improving for the last two years as a result of our boycott movement. The immediate outcome of this is that many weaving factories in England, which were turning out cloths for sale in India, have been closed and thousands of English coolies have been thrown out of employment. So the Englishmen will not carry out any reforms. Will the addition of one or two titled men to the Legislative Councils remove your poverty? Will it give liberty to the Indians? Will all your grievances be redressed if a hundred more are given appointments in the Police department? The Englishmen will not make any other reforms than these.

Then again, Mr.Gokhale requested that all those, who had been convicted for political offences, may be pardoned. But this will never be done. The Englishmen may pardon even murderers. But they will never ~~be done.~~ excuse those who preached about SWADESHI, SWARAJ, national education and boycott. Even during the

recent jubilee of the Queen's Proclamation the sympathy of the British Government was not extended to any political prisoner. So either the Indians must acquire SWARAJ or their names must be obliterated, even as those of the Romans and the Greeks. We can never be improved by the reforms of the Englishmen.

The Government and the VANDE MATARAM newspaper.

32. The INDIA, of the 5th November reports Sir Bepin Chandra Pal to have written to the MANCHESTER GUARDIAN as follows:--It is true that, within the last one or two years, the Government has im prisoned the Editors and Proprietors of many native news papers in India, either on a charge of sedition or on one of creating hatred between class and class. But the only papers, which it has stopped altogether, are the YUGANTAR AND THE VANDE MATARAM, both of which were nationalist papers. Of these, the latter was a Daily paper published in English and had a very wide circulation. Its first Editor was myself and within a few months after it was started, it became famous throughout the world. While in existence, it was, as it were, a beacon light to the nationalists and their newspapers. The British authorities in India, mad with the desire to continue for ever their present arbitrary and despotic rule, destroyed this paper and also attached its press, because they thought that this was an instrument of spreading sedition in the land. There is no doubt that the proverb 'Folly preaches destruction' will prove quite true in the case of these Anglo-Indians. This paper wrote: "Our determination is that the race of Bharata should acquire independence and become great. Our firm belief is that the Indians also must sacrifice as much as other races have done to acquire independence. But our only anxiety is that, owing to either the ignorance or impatience of the Indian leaders, our sacrifice should not exceed that which is quite essential to acquire independence." Though this paper thus openly declared that the Indian must acquire independence, it never instigated the people to do cruel acts to gain this end.

It preached that, considering the present state of the country, the only good and effective that since the VANDE MATARAM has been ruined, they can hereafter continue their arbitrary rule without any fear of obstruction. The acts of these mad British rulers resemble that of a ~~pateita~~ patient who, unable to bear the severity of fever, bathes in a river to reduce the fever, instead of taking proper medicines to get rid of the disease. The result will only be that he will get an attack of delirium and die.

The Governor of Madras at Tinnevelly.

33. The INDIA, of the 5th December, writes:--The Governor of Madras uttered some nonsensical words when he went to Nazareth in the course of his tour in the Tinnevelly district. The gist of his speech is : "Youths in this country are taught only to learn their lessons by heart and are never given a virtuous training. This training can be given only by the Christian religion and the foreign Missionaries. Virtue is nothing but subjection to a foreign rule and so one who has a desire for independence, whether he be young or old, is a wicked person indeed. I am very glad that this virtue is cultivated among the Christians. No other religion teaches this virtue. From the time I came to this country, I have been demanding only the cultivation of this virtue. So, may the Christian religion and the Missionaries live long!"

What is the meaning of these words? It is nothing but that men like Swami Vivekananda, Sri Tilak, Pal, Lajpat Rai, Gandhi, Chidambaram Pillai and others are not virtuous men. They might have worked for their country day and night, not caring for even their wives and children. They might be prepared to be deported or imprisoned or even to draw an oil-mill, having only patriotism as their main aim in life. But they are only wicked men simply because they are not in favour of being subject to foreigners. Why should not the Governor have preached like this in his own country? The people of that country are themselves gradually losing their faith in the Christian religion. The ordinary people in England never attend the church on Sundays,

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but only wine shops, horse races, and cricket matches. Besides this, if being subject to a foreign nation is such a great virtue, why should the Englishmen now strengthen their army and navy, apprehending danger from the Germans? If the Englishmen become subject to the Germans, will not the latter applaud the former as a very virtuous people?

34. The INDIA, of the 5th December, observes:--This benign Government gave only rigorous imprisonment to one Mr.Stirling, an Assistant editor of the CIVIL AND MILITARY GAZETTE, for having shot an Indian servant of his to death. Now an Indian cooly of a planter shot him with an arrow, unable to bear his torture and the White died after lingering for three days. For this, the same benign Government has punished the Indian with hanging. What justice!

"What justice is this?"

35. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 5th December, writes:--Almost all the responsible appointments in our Government are held by persons who have passed the Indian Civil Service Examination which is held in London every year. Owing to various causes, not more than two or three Indians are able to go up for this examination every year, and so the majority of the successful candidated in this examination are Englishmen. This was regarded as an insult to our community, and so attempts were being made from 1833 to remedy this state of affairs. This was realised even the late Queen Victoria, for in her Proclamation of 1858 she had promised that there would be nothing to prevent an Indian aspiring to any appointment to which he was fitted by education, training and capability. While we were complaining that this promise had not been fulfilled, Lord Curzon and other statesmen began to say that we were wrong in interpreting the Proclamation

The Indians and the Civil Service.

and that we could never hope to get the higher appointments. But Lord Morley declared subsequently that Lord Curzon's construction was not correct and that the promise of the Queen was still binding. This was reiterated also in the recent message from the King. Such being the case, it is rather surprising that some prominent Anglo-Indian officials should deny this right to the Indians. Thus Sir Andrew Fraser, the retiring Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, stated before he left Calcutta that there were a greater number, of Indians in the Civil Service now than when he first came to India, and that therefore it was wrong to say that the promise in the Queen's Proclamation was yet unfulfilled. He said that there were only three Indians in the Civil Service when he came to India, and that there were now as many as thirteen. Surely the mere fact, that the number of Indians in the Civil Service which was three about 40 years back has x now risen to thitteen, will not by itself be an illustration of the fulfilment of the Queen's Rxxxxxxx promise. Why should the other members in the Bengal Civil Service be Englishmen, when the Indians are qualified enough to hold the same appointments? Is there a restriction, in any other country than India, to the higher xx appointments in the Government service being given to the natives of the country? Both Sir Andrew Fraser and Mr.Romesh Chander Dutt entered the Indian Civil Service in the same year. But yet, the former retired onl few days back as the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal while the latter, when he retired 10 years back, was only a Divisiona Commissioner, Why should there be this difference?

Expenditure of the Government of India on the Military and the Railways.

36. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 9th December, writes:--Ther was recently a very hot discus in the Parliament when Mr.Bhuc sought the permission of the H for raising an additional loan of seven and a half crores of r for the use of the Government of India in laying out fresh Ra

lines on the borders of India. Dr.Rutherford pointed out that the Indians never liked the idea of the Government laying out new lines of Railways with borrowed money and that the government never paid any heed to the Parliament as far as India was concerned. Sir Charles Dilke observed that the military expenditure in India was growing beyond bounds and that Lord Kitchener, in spite of remonstrances, has squandered money in laying out new lines of Railway on the frontier to help the movements of the troops. Many other speakers also followed in the same strain. But what effect is this discussion going to have? Already nearly thirty thousand miles of Railway have been laid out in India, connecting even small villages with one another. The result of this is that foreign articles are introduced even into these villages and the grain and other things produced there alone are carried away to distant places. Therefore it is the opinion of the intelligent among us that new lines of Railway need not be constructed hereafter at a great cost. Similarly the Indians feel that they cannot bear any addition to the present military expenditure which by itself swallows nearly a third of the revenues and that England should bear a portion of this expenditure. But the view of the Government is different on both these points.

Indian National Congress

37. Referring to Sir P.M.Mehta's views in regard to separate Congresses being held by different parties, the ANDHRAKESARI, of the 4th December, (received on the 9th December,)observes:--Even while such a great man as Mr.Surendranath Bannerjee was exerting to effect a compromise between the Moderate and the Nationalist parties believing it to be becoming and beneficial, it is unintelligible why Mr.Mehta should throw obstacles in the way. Is Mr.Mehta more capable or patriotic or self-sacrificing, or beneficent or devoted to the country, than Mr.Bannerjee? Surely, he is not. It is the yearning of this Mehta for arbitrary authority that has involved the Congress in many difficulties. It is the fire of the pride of Mehta that burnt the forest of the

National Congress in Surat. It is the great wind of the egotism o of Mehta that drowned the ship of the National Congress in the sea of calamity. It is the cowardice of Mehta that proved the root-worm to the tree of National Congress and made its trunk hollow. When he who possesses only some power in a small association which is subject to foreigners without any authority has such egotism and pride, how much egotism should the white men have who possess complete independence in all matters! We believe that the fate of the National Congress would be what it is now, so long as it is guided by patriots like Mehta, Wacha, Krishnaswamy Aiyar and others.

VI. MISCELLANEOUS.

The value of boycott.

41. The INDIA, of the 5th December, observes:--We have already communicated to our friends that the people of Turkey have vowed to boycott all Austrian goods. In that connection we learn from Reuter that if this boycott does not stop , the Austrian representative in Turkey will take long leave and quit Turkey. Similarly, it is possible to make the British officials in India take long leave by means of our boycott movement. Do you see what a peaceful and easy method this is? We regret that our people have not yet clearly understood the valu of boycott.

"The factory of freedom"

42. The INDIA, of the 5th November, writes:--Our patriots may, in the aggreggte, be compared to a factory which produces a commodity called freedom. In a factory, there is a central engine with a huge wheel in its whirling round and it is the rotation of this wheel that moves every other mechanism in the factory. But the heat evolved from the engine and numerous small accessories are necessary to rotate this huge

huge wheel. Some of these ac essory machanisms move every slow while some others rotate very fast; but every one of these is quite essential for the work of the factory. Similarly the central wheel in our country was till now the congress and its work was helped by numerous small associations throughout the country. Some of the members of these associations were very intelligent, wealthy and influential while some others were doing ~~their~~ their work quite unnoticed. But the work of both these classes of persons is quite essential for the progress of the public weal. Now certain mad people are saying that only certain classes of persons can be admitted in the Congress. This is something like saying that certain mechanisms which turn very fast should be removed from the factory, and the result will only be that the whole organisation will come to a stand-still. Among those who want to exclude certain people from the congress is Sir Pherosha Mehta. He says: "The congress began as a constitutional attempt with the full confidence of the British Government, and it is time that this principle should be laid down clearly without any chance of a misconstruction." Mehta does not know that mother Bharata, the owneress of this factory, has decided to work it hereafter with the electrical power of the desire for liberty instead of with the steam power of petitioning to the British as of old. Moreover our people will not long continue to have a respect towards these, who show such an open hatred against union. Already all the parties in Bengal have understood that the principles of Mehta and Krishnasawmy Aiyar are opposed to the progress of the country and the people of other Presidencies also will soon realise this. Unless Mehta & Co. approach the Government to prevent the representatives from Bengal attending the next Congress, their principles are sure to be blown to the winds in that assembly.

The Brahmans--now and in ancient times.

44. The INDIA, of the 5th November, observes:--The Brahmans and other higher classes in India feel sorry that they are not xxxxx respected now, as they were in bygone days. But these forget that they no longer do the meritorious deeds which they were doing in the past and that they no longer impart knowledge to the people without the expectation of a return, which is their main duty. What is the nature of the work they are doing now? Are not thousands of Brahmans in the service of the British Government, which is conducted on the unjust basis of taxation without representations? Why should the public have any regard for these? Even when the people x are dying of famine, many Tahsildars, to gain the favour of their superior officers, report that there is no famine and cruelly collect all taxes and hand it over to the Englishmen. Are not many of these Tahsildars Brahmans? The avocation of a spy was regarded as the meanest one by our ancestors, and it is only men of a very low class that used to take it up in ancient times. But now even people calling themselves Brahmans have taken to this work. How can these expect the respect of the public? Even in barbarous countries like England it is only persons in abject penury that take to this work, and even that only as a matter of necessity and not of pleasure. But thx x in British India, this avocation is considered an honour conferred on the persons concerned! Alas! How low has the land of Bharata gone down!

The Indian Congress.

46. A sub-leader in the KERALA PATRIKA, of the 5th December, referring to the ensuing Congress, says that it will be for the good of the country, if the Moderates and Extremists were to sink their little differences and work hand in hand peaceably to secure the necessary reforms in the administration of the country. Even a child knows that it will be possible for the Indians to drive the British out of the country and manage the administration of the country themselves. Every sane man will admit that

the connection of England with India is highly beneficial to the latter and to think of obtaining the necessary reforms by resisting the authority of Government, is not at all praiseworthy. As SWADESHISM, one of the tenets of the Extremists, is highly beneficial to the country, all must unite to promote that cause and it is ~~meant~~ certain that Government will not grudge their support to the improvement of the industries of the country. Under these circumstances, it is highly necessary that both parties should join and work in the cause of the Congress.

For the week ending 19th December 1908.

No. 51 of 1908.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY NATIVES.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(a) Police.

1. The INDIAN PATRIOT, of the 15th December, writes:--

Fruitless house-searches in Bengal.

"While it may be easily admitted that houses have to be searched when reasonable suspicion is entertained that some incriminating article or document can be found therein, and that occasionally such searches may prove to be unjustified by the result, it seems to reflect little credit on the Magistracy and the Police that such a large number of fruitless searches should be made as are almost daily reported in the Calcutta papers. Opening a single issue of a Calcutta paper received to-day we find that two houses of respectable people were surrounded at 3-30 A.M. at Seragunge on the 11th instant and were searched from 6 to 10 A.M., but nothing incriminating was found. On the same day a Muktear's house was searched for hours at Kushtia. Nothing, not even a bit of incriminating paper, was found. At Naraingunge four houses were searched, and nothing notable was found. ~~At Jessore one house was~~ At Barisal one house was searched, and nothing was found. At Jessore one house was searched, and nothing was found. At Meluberia one house was searched diligently, but nothing was found. At Chandpur the search of a house brought out nothing beyond some innocent letters and doctor's bills. At Uttarpara every nook

and corner of a house was searched and nothing objectionable was found. At Commilla twelve houses were searched. The searches lasted several hours, and nothing of value was obtained. Two houses were searched at Brahamperia; but the report says that 'the object and the result have not transpired.' Other searches of a like nature are daily reported in the Calcutta papers; and a police and magistracy which cannot know more of the places in their charge than to pursue such wild goose chase, must, it seems to us, give way to better men. It is a scandal of the first magnitutde that they should be so freely permitted to invade the residences of respectable persons, only to come away empty handed. They seem to proceed like census officers, marking every house, and searching and taking note of its contents so that nothing might escape their attention, but that chance might leadø them at times to a place where some useful object can be found ■xx It certainly seems to us that a word must be said on behalf of the people who are subjected to this kind of annoyance simply because the Police do not know how to do their work better. How much of the difficulties in Bengal is due to proceedings of this kind is at least worth enquiring."

(k) General.

5. The WEST COAST SPECTATOR, of the 12th December, writes:--

The Partition of Bengal.

"It may be permissible to the publicist now and then to take a broader view of public questions than what is usually possible. The realities of life are generally too stern a master to permit an incursion into the region of everlasting ideas or general principles. But ideas and principles, as a great writer says, are the very soul of realities and every now and then it is necessary to test facts in their xxxlight and in the light of their subsequent developments. The partition of Bengal is one of those "settled facts," which admit of being tested every now and then. We have, by this time, realised by experience that the partition

was a political blunder. Those responsible for the measure did not, perhaps, pause to reflect what the consequences of that measure would be. Let us charitably admit that they looked at it from the material point of view and thought that a small area, well-administered, was a desirable thing. They omitted to take into consideration the imaginative and sentimental side of the question. The result has not been favourable; while even the material side has not come up to the expectations of those who were disposed in the beginning of the controversy to side with the authorities. To be candid, it should be admitted that even from the material standpoint the scheme has miserably failed. Such being the case, the question arises whether the Government are going to refuse to learn by experience, to candidly acknowledge the blunder and rectify it. Lord Morley has solemnly assured the world that the partition has become a 'settled fact', and a test by which he is willing to be bound. But, we take it, that it merely means that he is rather unwilling to be taught by experience. He has, it is true, arrived at the age when people are apt to look upon consistency as a virtue; but in the case of Lord Morley, broad-minded and honest and with an intellect undecayed by age, we earnestly hope that he has not yet passed the time of life when statesmen are willing to learn by experience. It should, by this time, be evident to him that the unsettling of the settled fact means reconciliation between the rulers and the ruled, giving the quietus to an agitation which has brought untold miseries, and the curing of the worst form of discontent which springs from despair and hopelessness. . . . . . . .The only thing in the way of the Government coming down from the high horse is that meaningless thing 'prestige', which is responsible for the unfortunate state of affairs in India at present. The only course for the Government is to be honest and just; and the honest man is the first to gracefully acknowledge and rectify an error when he has made one. It is only the weak that persistently refuse to acknowledge they are in the wrong. It is to be

hoped that the future biographer of Lord Morley will not be compelled to record that office changed him from a lover of justice and truth and a passionte advocate of freedom and fair play into a weakling and a retrograde political doctrinaire whose highest political wisdom was summed up in the doctrine of the 'settled, fact.' He is shortly to announce to the world his scheme of reforms, and, as the BENGALEE observes, may Divine Provindence give him the wisdom, strength and courage to utter the world that shall allay the unrest and rally every section of the Bengalee community to the side of law."

The Indian reforms.

7. The INDIANPATRIOT, of the 14th December, writes:--"It is a matter for disappointment that the promised announcement in the House of Lords about the Indian reform has been postponed owing to the indisposition of Lord Morley. Everbody in India has been in a most expectant mood, and at this time when Government are proceeding in another direction with vigour and energy, it would have been timely to show, in the words of Sir Harvey Adamson, that they are also generous in granting reforms. The whole hope of the country is centred in the long-looked for announcements, and that hope, when realised to a reasonable extent, must have a most beneficial effect on public feeling throughout India, and must result in an increasing disposition to rally to the side of Government. The delay is not only disappointing but gives rise to all sorts of reports about the scope of the intended reforms; and imagination is allowed free-play by newspapers which claim to possess the secrets of Government. In the meantime there is also talk about dissolution of Parliament, and the declaration made by Mr.Lloyd George is calculated to strengthen fears about the occurrence of a contingency which must frustrate all the plans of the ministry in regard to India. We hope that no mishap of the kind will occur; for it will be a great misfortune if, in the present state of India, the Government should not be able to

carry out their long-conceived plans, and should be forced to leave things in confusion more or less. The exigencies of party politics in England will be little controlled by considerations about India; and should the Government be unable to carry out their measures within a comparatively short time, they may find things respecting India in a mess. Hence, one cannot lose sight of the importance of promptitude in the present situation, but there is a limit to the possiblity of promptitude in Parliamentary legislation which must take the customary course and cannot be compassed exactly in accordance with ministerial inclination and wish. The gravest anxiety must be felt on this account; and unless both parties recognise in an equal measure the urgency of Indian reform, it is difficult to repose implicit confidence in the early accomplishment of the reform.

"* * * * * * * * *"

The INDIAN PATRIOT, of the 15th December, writes:--" . .

The Indian reforms.

It is particularly to be noted that Lord Morley's intention in publishing the scheme now is to enable the National Congress at Madras to make a pronouncement on it, and Congressmen will duly realise their responsibility in this regard, esepcially in view of the message sent by Mr.Hume and Sir William Wedderburn. We are sure that there will be no disposition to cavil at the reform, however inadequate it may be, but that the Congress as a body will treat it in a serious and respectful spirit, fully appreciating the generous intentions underlying the proposals, but at the same time pointing out where the scheme may be improved with advantage. Until it is passed through Parliament it cannot be considered final; and His Majesty's Government will not be indifferent to the value of Indian opinion as expressed by the Congress. ~~The share which the value of Indian opinion as expressed by the Congress~~. The share which such men as Lord Macdonnell and Sir Lawrence Jenkins have had in shaping the measure in close and confidential association with the Secretary of State cannot but have resulted in giving it as liberal a character as they may have considered consistent with the

conditions of Indian Government; and the further fact that the leaders of the Opposition, particularly Lord Lansdowne and Mr.Balfour, have in the main agreed to the proposals, affords a guarantee that they will not be obstructed or frustrated in their course through Parliament. We are also told that some of the legislation to give effect to the reforms will be presented to the consideration of the Viceroy's Legislative Council and passed into law during the current Calcutta session; and this will have reference chiefly to the larger powers of provincial and autonomy which are intended to be conferred. With respect to this no fears need be entertained, since it will be what the Government of India themselves have recommended or approved of. But from all points of view it cannot but be wished that the Liberal Government will remain in order to carry out the whole scheme under their own auspices and in the best interests of India and England."

The Indian reforms.

The HINDU, of the 18th December writes:--". . . . . . . We have no hesitation in saying that the Despatch of Lord Morley is a State paper of infinite importance, and that it would be read with rejoicing in all parts of India. It is a document worthy of a statesman bred in the best school of Liberal principles and policy as is Lord Morley, and is a far more, memorable deliverance, by reason of its range and practical operation than the one which it follows and amplifies, viz., the famous Minute of Lord Ripon on the Local self-government. We have read with unalloyed pleasure and satisfaction the sentiments of sympathy and of a sincere desire to elevate the political condition of the people of India which breathe through the many paragraphs in Lord Morley's Despatch. We feel no doubt that the instalment of reform which has been sanctioned is a substantial one to secure good government and the progress of the people. It is likewise a matter of sincere pleasure and thankfulness that the proposals of the Government of several points making for progressive reform their views seem to have been in full accord with those of Lord Morley."

The INDIAN PATRIOT, of the 18th December, remarks:--". . . .

The Indian reforms.

On the whole the scheme, as now presented, us the result of most anxious thought and deliberation, and constituted a marked and satisfactory improvement on the somewhat clumsy plan originally sketched. A good many details have yet to be worked out, and if they are worked out with the same sympathetic insight and genuine desire for a real advance, a measure of real reform will be the result."

The MADRAS STANDARD, of the 19th December, writes:--". . . .

The Indian reforms.

Now that Lord Morley's Despatch is before the public, there will be one opinion regarding the spirit in which both Lord Morley and Lord Minto have approached the question. Even the sternest and most uncompromising of Lord Morley' critics--those who have grown impatient of the delay and dilatoriness and have become dissatisfied with the policy of repression which has unhappily been in the ascendeant for the past two years,--must admit that almost in every sentence of his Despatch, Lord Morley shows how sincere, earnest and steadfast he has been in regard to the question of Indian reform and how faithfully, strongly and consistently Lord Minto, with his knowledge of the conditions prevailing in this country, has been backing him up. No two responsible statesmen could have worked in greater harmony and with a more sincere devotion to the cause which they have taken up; and we can now well realise the full significance of the repeated declarations of Lord Morley about the firmness of purpose, in this behalf, of the present Viceroy of India.. . .

8. The INDIAN PATRIOT, of the 14th December, writes:--". .

The arrests in Bengal.

It is impossible to know all the circumstances which have led to these arrests. The local authorities are presumably in possession of information which, in their opinion, justifies the action which they have taken; and they must have, indeed,

considered it x inexpedient to wait for the effect of the new law before proceeding against the persons concerned. Those who have not the information, which the Government must be deemed to possess, will be startled at the news;; and we must expect that throughout Bengal there will be considerable feeling roused over the affair, and the feeling is not likely to be allayed unless there is the most convincing evidence of their complicity in crime. Two or three of the persons now arrested seem to enjoy a measure of influence and popularity, such as is xx not acquired easily except by merit and character; and those who know and respect them may wonder what they could have done to bring themselves within the clutches of the criminal law. The natural tendency will be to presume their innocence; and the Government will sustain serious damage to their influence if they are not able, by overwhelming evidence, to establish their guilt. We hope that no hasty or ill-considered ~~improvement~~ action has been taken. Otherwise, we have grave misgivings about an early improvement of public feeling in Bengal. The policy that is most urgent in x the two provinces is to separate, as far as possible, the actual criminals from the mass of the law-abiding population, to completely deprive them of the sympathy of the latter, and to force them into submission to law and authority by dispersing their gangs and bringing them to condign punishment. The successful prosecution of such a policy is apt to be hampered by the arrest of persons who are widely held to be honourable men and who wield considerable influence among their countrymen, and enjoy their respect and regard. Until we hear more, we have to suspend judgment, meanwhile cherishing xx the hope that the clouds may disperse and leave a clear sky."

The INDIAN PATRIOT, of the 17th December, writes:--". . . .

The arrests in Bengal.

We consider it a misfortune that between the enactment of a special drastic law and the gratifying announcement of reform there should have beenkx the necessity for the Government to put themselves on the defensive, for defensive surely is the position

of Government in this connection. When the new law was enacted on Friday the Government's position was particularly strong. They had to face a difficult and unprecedented situation, and, however drastic the law was, they were able to show ample justification for it, and most rightminded people were in a mood to accept the measure as a temporary necessity. The Government had waited long, had shown commendable patience under the most provoking circumstances, and action was taken only when it could no longer be delayed ~~xx~~ consistently with the interests of public peace and safety. We had hopes that the new law by itself would be effective enough for all, practical purposes, that law-abiding people would acquiesce in and support it, and that by its mere existence, without any extended operation, it would achieve the object aimed at. But, before people had had time even to understand the law in all its ~~xxxx~~ aspects, quite an unexpected use has been made of other enactments so as to cause general alarm in Bengal. We cannot but wish that time had been allowed for estimating the effect of the new law before recourse was had to these exceptional proceedings; for we believe that Government's position is not so ~~xx~~ strong after these measures have been taken, as it was on Friday when the new law ~~xx~~ was passed. They, in a measure, justified themselves as regards the latter; but they have to justify themselves as regards the former. Some of those now arrested are men of considerable influence and following. They are not men known to sympathise with crime or criminals; and among their countrymen they enjoy ~~in-the-country-is~~ a high reputation for integrity of purpose and patriotism. Their influence in the country is the result of their character and public services; and in order to turn public feeling against them it will, as we said on Monday, require overwhelming evidence of their connection with crime. It is even open to the public to believe that their existence in the country in the enjoyment of freedom would have been helpful to the cause of peace and order; and it is deplorable that a fair trial should not have been given to the new law before proceedings were taken against them.

The MADRAS STANDARD, of the 18th December, writes:--

The arrests in Bengal

"Nine prominent Bengali gentlemen some of whom have been known to be among the most moderate of politicians have been deported in a summary manner, and the Extremists in the Anglo-Indian press are jubilant beyond measure and praise the rulers concerned for their 'strength'. But the question is whether those who have been really responsible for the deportations would be able to justify what they have done. In the case of the Punjab deportations till to-day no proof has been adduced, which would bring the guilt home to the persons deported. Time alone can show what proof Sir Lancelot Hare and Sir Edward Baker had in their possession when they urged the Government of India to sanction the deportation of the nine gentlemen referred to. . ."

The WEST COAST SPECTATOR, of the 19th December, writes:--

The arrests in Bengal.

"It is very regrettable that the Government have committed another blunder in deporting under the obsolete Act of 1818 certain well-known Extremist leaders of Bengal especially when the authorities' hands have been strengthened by the new Act. The proper course for the authorities would have been to use the provisions of last Friday's Act against the men. ~~The step they~~ Such a procedure would not have given room for adverse comment. The step they have now taken is liable to impress the public with the idea that the Government have no evidence against the leaders. . . . . ."

III. LEGISLATION

11. The HINDU, of the 14th December, writes:--

The new special Act.

"We publish elsewhere the full text of the new Crimes Act, which will show how the executive has been armed with alarmingly wide powers for the purpose of putting down anarchism. The events which have happened in unfortunate Bengal since Friday last seem, however, to fully bear out the opinion expressed by the London TIMES

that the Government of India already possess ample powers to deal with the present situation. . . . ."

The MADRAS STANDARD, of the 15th December, remarks:--

The new special act.

". . . .We shall, of course, be told that such a law exists in Ireland and that it has seldom be misapplied. But in Ireland as in Great Britain there is a strong public opinion which is evvectively represented in the House of Commons. In the United Kingdom the people for whom the laws are passed and the law-givers are one hand, therefore they know each other well. But here unfortunately a wide gulf exists between the rulers and the ruled, and public opinion is disregarded and ignored. What guarantee is there then that the new law passed n no doubt with the best of intentions will not bear oppressively on the people and punish the innocent with the guilty?"

The PARTRIOT, of the 15th December, writes:--"We fear that the act will put enormous powers into the hands of the Police and the fact that some notable Indians have been, since the Act came into force, arrested and deported and that about 20 arrests have been made in Bengal, fills the country with deep consternation from end to end. These laws are evils of the making of a few anarchists in Bengal, and the whole of India has to suffer for the misdeeds of a handful of hooligans and rowdies."

The new special Act.

The MALABAR DAILY NEWS, of the 15th December, writes:-

The new Special Act.

". . . . So far as anarchist trial of the future are concerned, we may be certain that they will be wholesomely expeditious, but the main task of the new law will be the effectual destruction of the subterranean network of revolutionary Associations, and if this task is not taken upin earnest and accomplished purposefully, with all false sentiment brushed aside, the new law will probably leave things no better than it found them. And so, whilst every one is agreed that the new law is intrinsically what it should be, every one will wait to see how the new man will wield the weapon that has been placed in his hands."

The WEST COAST SPECTATOR, of the 16th December, writes:--

The new Special Act.

"The alarmists among the Anglo-Indian press and community have at last succeeded in persuading the Government of India to incorporate in the Statute Book the Crimes Act for which they have been crying for. At last Friday's meeting of the Viceroy's Legislative Council the Crimes Bill to put down sedition and anarchism was passed. . . . . . On carefully reading the speeches, we cannot help arriving at the conclusion that the Government have taken a highly magnified view of the present situation. Those who are closely acquainted with the real aspects of the present situation fail to see the need of the Government availing themselves of such a weapon as was forged on Friday last.

"The second part of the Bill, that relates to Associations, is more reactionary than the first and is a serious menace to the liberty of the subject.

"For one thing we are thankful to the Government. The legislation has not been undertaken in a spirit of vindictiveness."

The Muhammadan, of the 17th December, wrties:--"It is remarkable that no criminal law was ever passed by the Indian

The new special Act.

Government with such an unanimous approval of the people at large as the Anti-Anarchist Legislation passed last week. Though it creates a new offence and curtails the rights of the people to a certain extent, no voice has been raised against its necessity, excepting that of Dr.Rash Behari Ghose, whose opposition may always be looked up to as a matter of certainty, whenever it is proposed to invest the executive with additional power, be it only in the interests of law and order. . . . . We welcome the new legislation as being most pre-eminently fitted to satisfy all parties and serve the ends of justice while ensuring a speedy conclusion of trials for sedition. We hope and trust that the new Act will serve to the Babu conspirators as a powerful remembrancer of the inexhaustible resources of Government and will be most effective in suppressing sedition and anarchy

in Bengal and elsewhere."

The COCHIN ARGUS, of the 19th December, writes:--"While it is a positive relief to all well-wishers of the Government and to all enemies of sedition and anarchy to find that the Government of India has at length been fairly roused to a proper appreciation of the gravity of the political situation in Bengal, a study of the long list of attempted or accomplished bomb and other outrages, which Sir Harvey Adamson gave in the course of the speech at the recent meeting of the Supreme Legislative Council, cannot but make most people feel somewhat bitterly against the Government for not having begun very much earlier the policy of the determined repression which has now been vigorously inaugurated and which, it must be hoped, will be strenuously persisted in, until the last embers of anarchy have been thoroughly extinguished.

The new special Act

VI. MISCELLANEOUS.

14. The MADRAS STANDARD, of the 18th December, writes:--"In this Province there is practically no determined opposition to the holding of the Congress. In Salem some controversy is going on of a very exciting kind; but that in no way hinders the work going on in regard to the forthcoming session of the Congress. But it is stated that a vigorous campaign of abuse is carried on in the Bombay Presidency by some of the Extremists against the Moderates and their Congress, and now that the Nagpur Congress which was supposed to afford an outlet for the energy of the militant section of the Extremists is stopped, possibly their entire attention will be bestowed on the Madras Congress. But the Madras Congress has resolved to do its duty in spite of the thunder of the Bombay Extremists. We, at any rate, do not think, that any abuse of prominent moderate politicians will affect their equanimity of resolve. We

The Madras Congress.

We may assure the Constitutionalists in Bombay that the preparations for holding the Congress will in no way be interfered with by the war of words going on in certain parts of Western India. Nor is there any necessity for opening the columns of the Madras newspapers to a discussion as it is called of the various issues raised, for in this Province, in spite of petty heroics here and there, no serious obstacle will be encountered if the Constitutionalists from the other Provinces attend the Congress in strong numbers."

15. The INDIAN PATRIOT, of the 16th December, writes:-

The Extremist Congress.

". . . . We should, indeed, regret if the proposed Congress in Nagpur were prohibited; for we do not expect any trouble from a Congress of Extremists alone. Nor do we think that the authorities will be justified in enforcing a prohibition, unless the assembly shows by its attitude or language that disturbance is sure to result. From what we have heard, it does not seem likely that the Nagpur Congress will cause any annoyance to the Government. If, at all, they may indulge in some hard words against the Madras Congress and those who join them. But if their Congress is stopped, they will have as much grievance against the Government as against the Moderate Congressmen; and we should, indeed, be glad if the Government would refrain from interfering with their freedom. Since writing the above we have received the order of the District Magistrate of Nagpur, printed elsewhere; and we are sorry that the organisers should have been given a fresh ground of grievance, this time against the Government."

The WEST COAST SPECTATOR, of the 19th December, writes:-

The Extremist Congress.

"A Nagpur telegram says that the local District Magistrate has issued an order prohibiting the holding of the Extremist Congress in that centre and interdicting the building of the pandal for the purpose. We are compelled to characterise this action as high-handed for which there was no justification whatever. There is nothing to show that an Extremist Congress

will be a menace to public peace and safety; and Extremists are not murderers, dacoits and anarchists. They have every right to hold public meetings, and so long as they confine themselves within the bounds of law and decorum no body can have justification in interdicting their meetings. The order of the District Magistrate affects one of the principal rights of the citizen, and we hope its legality will be contested in a court of law. Apart from these, the action of the Nagpur authorities is highly impolitic. We are afraid it will only conduce to strengthen the Extremist propaganda. The Government rightly or wrongly believes that the Extremist is an insidious foe to British rule and therefore should be put down. But what the Government desire could be achieved by means other than that of repression. The simple and easy and popular solution of the Extremist problem that now confronts the Government is for the latter to have nothing to do with the Extremist, so long as he confines himself within the bounds of law and does not preach sedition, and to leave him to stew in his own juice."

16. The WEST COAST SPECTATOR, of the 19th December, writes:-

Indian Extremists in England.

"The presence of some of the Indian Extremist leaders in England is giving, it is said, great anxiety to our friends there. It is to be regretted that Mr.Bepin Chandra Pal and Mr.Shyamji Krishna Varma should give unbridled license to their tongues especially at a time when the situation in India is very critical. The enormity of the mischief these gentlemen are doing can be judged from the following facts. Recently, at the end of the meeting, at which our well-known friend, Dr.Rutherford was the principal speaker, Mr.Bepin, who was supported by an army of Indian students, delivered a speech declaring that he had gone to England to deliver a message; it might be peace, if Englishmen wished it, but if they declined to peacefully give India her immediate independence, then they must prepare for war! We would not have believed that Mr.Pal really said so,

had it not been for the fact that its authenticity is vouched for by a well-known English friend. Mr.Pal's friend, Mr.Krishna Varma, is equally busy. It is said that this gentleman 'in honour of the four anti-English natives, who have been recently done to death by British Government for attempting to promote their country's cause according to their lights.' is going to start an Indian Martyrs' Memorial 'with a monument to be erected in India House in London, with scholarships bearing the names of the four 'Martyrs' and with presents to their bereaved parents as tokens of gratitude.' The intolerable redomontade these Extremist leaders are indulging in can have no effect other than that of irritating the English nation, round whom our hopes are centred. We have no hesitation in saying that it is the exploits of these so-called Nationalists that have brought discredit on Indian nationalism. It is a pity these men are not guided by the example of Lala Lajpat Rai, who is winning golden opinion from all those with whom he is coming in contact in England."

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) General.

The gagging of the Press

20. The NYAYABHIMANI, of the 3rd December, writes:--The Government in British has enacted a new law under the impression that the native newspapers are encouraging and heling the Indians in their SWADESHI propaganda and their attempt to acquire SWARAJ. Numerous editors of native newspapers have already been imprisoned or deported under this law. Is this a system of Government? A newspaper is admittedly the mouth-piece of the public of the place, and so, if an editor is punished, it is tantamount to punishing the whole community of the place. What are we to say of the British Government, if it cannot realise this principle of the Dharma Sastras? Even this new "Gagging Act" affects only the Natives and no Feringhee comes under it.

So, if these Feringhess, who will do the meanest service for money, are employed on the staff of a newspaper and the paper is also published in a Feringhee's name, what can this foolish Government do? Pity it is that the Government has forgotten the proverb: "Our own relatives prove our worst enemies."

21. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 16th December, writes:--

The present condition of Bengal

The news from Bengal is growing fearful day by day. Many respectable persons of Eastern Bengal have, we understand, been deported, under Regulation III of 1818. Many houses are being searched on suspicion under the provisions of the New Crimes Act, Calcutta, and the whole of the Bengal Presidency seems to be in a state of panic. The above deportations are sure to rouse the feelings of the people, and we do not know of what use the publication of the reform proposals will be at this juncture. Though every one will approve of the Government taking steps to enquire into the causes of the present anarchist deeds and bring them to light, we are rather struck dumb by the fact that Lord Minto and Lord Morley, who have all along been declaring that it is their desire to restore peace in the country by making the necessary reforms, should now conduct themselves thus. Perhaps the new Governor of Bengal, Bengal, Sir Edward Baker, has obtained special authority from the Viceroy to adopt these stringent measures, because his predecessor was blamed by the English papers for being too weak-minded in the administration of his Province. Anyhow, we cannot help thinking that these deportations and house-searches had better be postponed till after the reform proposals have been announced. If the reforms give satisfaction to the people, peace will naturally be restored in every place and the anarchist tendency will also disappear. Even if it does not, the people will not then dislike the idea of the Government enacting laws to suppress such. Especially, if one of the proposed

reforms is the abolition of the partition of Bengal, most of the dangers that now threaten that Province will cease tobe. But as it is, we have to apprehend the occurrence of more serious events there.

III. LEGISLATION.

The new Crimes Act.

22. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 14th December, writes:--Lord Minto, in his concluding address on the New Crimes Act passed last week, observes:--"I eagerly entreat all people, to whatever race or religion they may belong, to strive unanimously to suppress the dangers that are now threatening the daily life of the people and to do away with secret conspiracies. I seek their help to remove the causes that have necessitated the law passed to-day." We need not say that the people will be ever ready to carry out this wish of the Viceroy. When some wicked persons have sprung up, with only murders and robberies as their aim, any Government, which does not decide to root them out, will be xxxx laying itself open to serious blame. We do not agree with Dr.Ghosh in his statement that steps should be taken to suppress anarchism after the publication of the reforms. When the papers, both in England and in India, were pointing out that the Government was very slow, Lord Minto could have acted upon it and adopted hasty measures. That he did not act thus shows only his rare abilities as a statesman. Even at this troublous period, he has discharged his duty, as befits his high responsible position, by refraining from making the new law as severe as the Englishmen wanted it to be and by encouraging the loyalty of the people by seeking their help at this juncture and by assuring them that the reforms also will be carried out soon.

The new Crimes Acts.

Referring to the procedure as laid down by the new Crimes Act, the ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, of the 12thDecember, observes:-- There may be cases, which are triable by three Judges, but such

cases should properly be tried by them, only when it is ascertained that justice has failed in cases tried by a single Judge and jury. There is reason to fear that the provision in the Act regarding "meetings and associations" will probably affect legal rights of the people. It is undesirable that the aid that might be rendered to assemblies declared unlawful, by contributing or collecting subscriptions or helping in any other way, should be rendered punishable with rigorous imprisonment for a period of three years. It is also regrettable that there should be no appeal on such sentences. Even in cases where there is provision for appeal, etc., many innocent persons are held guilty. But if there be no appeal at all, it is to be feared there will be much greater chance of innocent persons being judged guilty and subjected to severe sentences. The extending of the Act to other parts of India by a mere notification in the Gazette whenever there is an occasion, is undesirable as there will be no difficulty in getting laws passed at a single meeting of the Legislative Council, whenever it is considered desirable. What the Government want to do a thing; the protests of the people cannot prevent them. It is but just therefore to introduce a Bill into the Legislative Council first and pass it after considering the objections, if any, by the Council, This is the only means of securing stability for just laws and of exhibiting the wise policy of administration.

The new Crimes Act.

Referring to the new Crimes Act, the KISTNAPATRIKA, of the 13th December, observes:--This is the third of the weapons used by the Government to put down riots, anarchism and seditious acts. It is intended by the Government to root out the anarchist associations and to establish peace in the country. It is as much the duty of every citizen as of the Government to secure peace in the country. But there are not sufficient grounds to suppose, as has been done by Sir Harvey Adamson, that the whole country is filled with anarchist associations. On account of a few stray cases of anarchism, it is not proper

to say that the whole country abounds in secret societies which attempt to subvert the British rule. It would be well to pass such an Act, if, after the introduction of the proposed reforms of Lord Morley and their operation for some time, it should be found necessary.

VI. MISCELLANEOUS.

The Indian National Congress at Madras.

25. The INDIA, of the 12th December, publishes a cartoon describing the Indian National Congress to be shortly held at Madras as a circus in which a carriage, on which is seated Dr.Rash Behari Gosh and behind him stands Mr.Gokhale, is drawn by four horses representing the "so-called" delegates and goes round and round the arena at the bidding of the Anglo-Indian official.

Indian National Congress.

The ANDHRAKESARI, of the 11th December, observes:--"The Congress that is to be held in Madras will, it is contemplated, conduct itself independently, setting aside the views of the Nationalists and acting against public opinion. This is regrettable. Though the evil that will result from this Congress which is convened by those who delude the world into believing them to be Moderates is hidden, like poison in the pot with milk at its surface, it will gradually appear in its true form and certainly 'burn the Nationalists who are often condemned as Extremists and disloyal persons'. (Mr.Krishnaswami Aiyar, one of our Moderate leaders,) whose patriotism though calcined a hundred times, can never come up to the mark which Tilak's patriotism has attained, is the great person that declared openly that Mr.Tilak and his party were the diseased part of our mother-India and such a diseased part must be cut off. Certain papers in the Mahratta country are proclaiming that Mr.Tilak was involved in calamities owing to the machinations and instigations of some Bombay Moderates. Therefore it is no wonder that dangers will overtake the nationalists on account of the Moderates and

that consequently disturbance and discontent will increase resulting in dangers. It is our sacred duty to condemn the anarchists who disturb the peace of the country and to reclaim them from their evil ways. Which pure-hearted patriot will agree to please the enemies of our country's progress by exaggerating trivial differences in political creeds and killing the spirit of union. (The editors of certain newspapers are not only under the delusion that all those who joined the Madras Congress are Moderates and the rest Extremists, but they also give expression to it.) But we cannot think so. There are many Extremists who joined it under the name of Moderates. Among those who did not join it, there are many Moderates who have patriotism without prejudice to loyalty. The sectional Congresses have been formed owing to personal differences of the leaders. We request that all those who are spotlessly patriotic will, hereafter at least, open their eyes, see the evil that is likely to happen to our country, save it from such a calamity, and hold one single National Congress by effecting the union of all political parties."

The Indians should stand firm only now.

27. The London correspondent of the INDIA, of the 12th December, writes:--The only news that we are having for the last two weeks are the murder of Nandolal Banerjea, a Sub-Inspector of Police in Bengal, and another traitor to the country, the attempted murder of Sir Andrew Fraser and the divine honours done by the people to the body of Kani Lal. The papers here have been commenting on these subjects, each in its own peculiar strain. Some liberal papers alone state that all these horrible deeds are only the result of the despotism of the Government and that these things can be suppressed only if the system of Government is entirely changed and an important share in the Government is given to the Indians. But you should not argue from this that this is the opinion of all the people in England, for the papers read by the majority

of people here are conservative in their tone. All of them cry out that still harsher punishments must be enforced, that the Police and the Courts must be invested with greater authority and that the troops must have the power to shoot down people, and it is only suggestions like these that the British Government will act upon. It is rumoured that already nearly 1,200 soldiers have been sent to India and I think the oppression of the Government will increase in India. But it is only at this time that our people should conduct themselves boldly. If they think they are right in their opinions, they should not stop expressing them for fear of being punished by the Government. We will be regarded as men only if we maintain our view now.

28. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 15th December, observes:--

The coming Congress.

We learn that the rumour that the Nagpur Congress was prohibited by the authorities is false. As the Calcutta STATESMAN remarks, it will be a very foolish act on the part of the Government to do any such thing. Though it is said to be the Congress of the new party or the Extremists, those principles of this party which were considered undesirable have been abandoned now. We no longer hear the members of this party talk of SWARAJ, indepen-dent of British control, or advocate unconstitutional methods for securing reforms. So we think the Nagpore Congress also will be a Congress of loyalists and in that case, there will not be any difference between that and the Madras Congress in their fundamental principles. But while the Nagpur Congress advocates the necessity of retaining the four propositions of the Calcutta Congress, it is yet in doubt as to what course the Madras Congress will adopt in this respect. Though, according to the rules of the Allahabad Convention the Secretaries of the Congress ought to have published the draft resolutions by the first week of December itself, they have not done it yet owing to some unaccoun-table reason. It is only after seeing this draft that many delegates will be able to decide their course, because many of

them are of opinion that the four Calcutta resolutions must be retained. If these resolutions are given up or even completely changed we are afraid there may be a split even in the Madras Congress. Already the Madras Congress is stigmatised by some as a quasi-Government Congress.

30. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 17th December, writes:--

The prohibition of the Nagpur Congress.

(Considering the present attitude of the Government, it does not surprise us that the Congress at Nagpur has been stopped.) The officials in Englnd and India are now discharging their duties with a vengeance as a result of the accusation that has, for some time back, been made against them that they were weak-minded and very slow in their work. When errible ways of suppressing anarchism have been taken in hand by the Government in Bengal, it is no wonder that similar acts are being done in the neighbouring United Provinces also. It might be that the Government of the United Provinces prohibited this Congress under the impression that, being a Congress of the Extremists, it might strengthen the present anarchical spirit. The District Magistrate of Nagpur, in his order of prohibition, assigns it as one of the reasons for his order that the Congress might pass resolutions on the acts of the Government which have the effect of disturbing the public peace and blocking the attempt of people to carry on a legal trade. These resolutions are evidently the four Calcutta resolutions. So if it is declared that the Congress which discusses these resolutions is an unlawful assembly, we have to presume that even the Madras Congress cannot take up these resolutions for discussion. First of all we cannot understand how this Magistrate came to know that they these four resolutions would be discussed by the Nagpur Congress and that they would disturb the public peace. Though it is now two years since the Calcutta congress was held, no mischief appears to have been caused by these resolutions. If the Govern. ment thought that the meeting of the Congress at Nagpur would be

a dangerous experiment, it could have sent for the leaders and allowed them to hold the Congress, after taking security from them for keeping the peace. Perhaps this fate has not overtaken the Madras Congress also, because the Government has either already seen a copy of the resolutions or thinks that it need not be stopped as it is only a Congress of the Moderates. If it is the latter, it is clear that it will be possible to hold a Congress only as long as the Government is under that impression. Anyhow it is now established that the Congress is not a free institutions.

The anarchist movement in India.

31. The VRITTANTA PATRIKA, of the 17th December, observes that the new law relating to the suppression of the anarchist movements in India is a measure fully warranted by the political situation in the country. These anarchists cannot, for a moment, be regarded as the friends of India and in reality they are only her enemies. Their hatred is not against Englishmen alone; they oppress their own fellow countrymen and plunder their houses. Several secret societies of these anarchists have been formed in Bengal of late. Even if the SWADESHIS should join them and Englishmen assist them, these societies are, without doubt, fraught with real danger to Government. If the English should withdraw from Bengal, nothing but anarchy would be the result. These anarchists are in fact the enemies of the whole of mankind, and are altogether devoid of morality. There can be no doubt that these wretches will soon be ~~wipied~~ wiped out of existence by Government.

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No. 52 of 1908.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY NATIVES.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) General.

1. The INDIAN PATRIOT, of the 21st December writes:--

The Indian reforms.

". . . . The best Indian opinion has shown a grateful appreciation alike of the generous intentions of the Government and the generous way in which those intentions have been expressed in the scheme. An era of parliamentary government has not surely opened before us; but there is indeed really something calculated to create a genuine interest and a genuine sense of responsibility and power and of advancement of political status among Indians. In this lies the essence of the reform, and without that essence the entire scheme is bound to fall flat. It is in realising that essence that our chief interest lies; and with the Government and the public united in their aim, no misgiving need be entertained about the result. It is, however, important to remember that the scheme cannot be a reality unless its details are worked out in the same sympathetic and generous spirit in which it has been framed; and for this we must look to the supreme and local Governments, their officers and advisers. Their heartiest sympathy and co-operation are essential if it is not to suffer in the process of making and developing. In the constitution of electorates, in fixing the proportion of official and non-official members in the Provincial legislative Councils, the plan indicated in the scheme has to be worked out so as to impart reality to the principles enunciated. The privilege of moving resolutions, of asking supplementary questions and of discussing individual official acts, is a real advance on the present practice, a real addition to the present powers of the Council. It will tend to the greater strictness and purity of the administration and to its greater efficiency. And the existence of an Indian member or two in the Executive Council will ensure better public confidence in the decisions of Government.

and will add to them greater authority and weight. It was in this view that Indian Judges were first appointed to the High Courts. ~~The same view that Indian Judges were first op~~ The same view has been urged in support of the proposal now made. Besides its inherent advantages, it makes the steady advance of the priciple, which Parliament and Sovereign have laid down definitely and which Indians insist upon as the essence of their status as British subjects, of there being no recognition of race or colour as a qualification for any office under the Crown. In the hope that this principle will be acted upon and extended has lain the hope educated Indians. To defer that hope any longer will hardly be consistent with the 'politic satisfaction' of their claims; and this has been recognised in the scheme now presented. The welcome that it has met with is almost unanimous, and in this unanimity we find not only the consummation of old and ~~and~~ long-cherished hopes, but also the basis of a union of interests and aspirations of the divided classes and communities which own common allegiance to the King-Emperor and the Empire."

The Indian reforms.

The MADRAS STANDARD of the 22nd December, writes:--Though it is hardly four days since Lord Morley's despatch on Indian constitutional reform was published we are now in a position to say that it has been well received. Throughout India there prevails a feeling of satisfaction with the way in which both Lord Morley and Lord Minto have dealt with the question. In Madras we have hardly come across a man who does not feel satisfied with the new scheme, who does not recognise the generous and noble impulses which actuated the Secretary of State and the Viceroy in drawing it up for the benefit of the people of India and their advancement in civilisation. From enquiries we have made we are happy to be able to say that every prominent Indian gentlemen in Madras in the main approves of the proposals and commends, and is pleased with the spirit in which they are conceived. In other~~s~~ parts of India the same is the attitude assumed by the enlightened Indian community. No~~t~~ two public

men are in a better position to give expression to Bombay opinion than Sir Pherozeshah Mehta and Mr.Gokhale, short summaries of whose opinions we published in our last issue. Elsewhere to-day we reproduce the full text of what they said, and there can be no doubt that they speak for the loyal majority of Indians. Even in Bengal which is torn up by the agitation against the partition, great satisfaction seems to be felt at the new mea-

Mr. Bhupendranath Bose, Mr. A. Chaudri, Mr Justice Sarada Charan Mitter

sures of reform. Mr.Surendranath Banerji, are representative Bengali leaders and there can be no mistake about what they have said, though of course some of them are rather too cautious, needlessly we think, in giving their opinion, If what Mr.Surendranath Banerji said is that while admitting that the scheme is an honest attempt he would go on agitating for further privileges of the same king before Indians have demonstrated their fitness to exercise those other privileges, we are entirely at one with a local Anglo-Indian contemporary in thinking that the position assumed by Mr.Banerji is anomalous and illogical. We are of

think that rights and privileges ~~of the same kind before Indians have~~ should be

those who exercising them develops itself, and we are sure that

conferred only as the capacity for

responsible Indian opinion is sound on this point. So far the Indian press, with a very few exceptions here and there, who belong to the class of Lord Morley's Irreconciables, has expressed itself with significant unanimity on the scheme. All this augurs an easy passage for the measure through parliament and good to India."

The Indian reforms.

The WEDNESDAY REVIEW, of the 23rd December, writes:--"Lord Morley's scheme of reform in Indian administration is a handsome vindication of his sturdy liberalism and far-sighted statesmanship . . . . . Considered as a whole, the scheme is a great step forward and the honour of taking it is largely due to ~~the~~ one whose politics have never meant the clash of party warfare but the lifting up of the weaker and the less fortunate of his fellows to whatever country they might belong."

The Indian reforms.

The INDIAN PATRIOT, of the 23rd December, writes:--"His Majesty, in his speech on the propogation of parliament on

Monday, has rightly anticipated public feeling throughout India in regard to the reform. That feeling is almost unanimous in its genuineaess and heartiness. The spirit of mutual trust and good will which His Majesty speaks of has, we believe, been very nearly realised, if we may judge from the manner in which the reforms have been received; and we have no doubt that when these have been given effect to and put in working order there will be more of this mutual trust and good will. Hitherto, the administration and the people have been more or less apart. Hereafter, both will be brought into closer association in a spirit of oneness of interest and aim. That will be the greatest achievement ix of the changes now resolved upon. . . . . The mass of opinion, both Indian and Anglo-Indians, is practically one as to the desirability of utilising the opportunity for strengthening mutual andx trust and goodwill in the spirit of His Majesty's wish."

The Indian reforms.

The HINDU, of the 24th December, writes:--". . . . . Mr. O'Donnell suggested the desirability of obtaining the opinions of former Governors, former members of the Legislative Council and former Commissioners of Divisions in Bengal now residing in England as well as those of Maharajahs, Nawabs, and Rajas of Bengal proper, in regard to this question. Mr.Buchanan's reply that Lord Morley was not prepared to take the action suggested was understood generally to mean that he did not feel the necessity to gather fresh opinions, having been already convinced of the great mistake made. In fact, the reply to the further question that Lord Morley had no desire to depreciate the opinions of the most experienced and independentx un-official opinion, but that he did not think that the proposed action would serve any useful purpose, went to confirm the view that Lord Morley was decided in his mind in regard to the unwisdom of the partition, though he did not as yet see his way to strike a blow to rectify a huge blunder in the administration. The belated reply to Mr.Smeaton published yesterday blasts all hope

of redress in this respect, and it is extremely doubtful whether with such obstinacy on the part of the powers-that-be. Bengal will be in a mood to consider the reforms in the spirit in which they should be considered. . . . ."

The Indian reforms.

The INDIAN PATRIOT, of the 24th December, writes:--"Though the scheme of reform as presented may appear to be somewhat imposing, when carefully looked into, it will be found to assume a far less attractive feature. Thus the chief merit of the scheme, which consists in the abolition of official majority, may be made unreal by creating merely the semblance of a non-official majority which will even be unable to assert itself owing alike to the division of non-official members and the solid unanimity on the official side. The officials will always act together, while the non-officials will all of them never agree on any important question affecting Indian interests. If the non-official majority be merely nominal, there will be even less chance of their being able to carry any point. Thus the entire effect of the scheme may be lost in the process of making up the Council. . . . ."

The Indian reforms.

The HINDU, of the 25th December, writes:-". . . . .The system of self-government in local areas which Lord Ripon's Government had in view never received a fair trial. The scheme was mutilated in the process of being given effect to, and in a manner calculated to bring it into undeserved discredit. The cry has been constantly raised during these years that local self-government was an exotic in the Indian soil and as such it could hardly be expected to flourish. Petty faults, inevitable in the working of any institution, however perfect, have been deliberately seized upon to demonstrate in allseriousness the unfitness of Indians for this kind of administration. Not only this, these supposed deficiencies and defects have been urged gravely as disqualifying us for any measure of political or administrative advancement, whatever its general scope of character

The Municipal shortcomings of Tanjore, Kumbakonam and Mannargudi which formed the subject of criticism in wo successive years, have been made the basis of unwarranted remarks on the capacity and character of the educated and intelligent classes in important towns. Heaviest penalties, often vicarious in their nature, have been inflicted on Municipal Councils for assumed delinquencies. They have been warned frequently, chastised and held up to ridicule in Administration Reports and elsewhere, their constitution interfered with in season and out of season, their elective privileges withdrawn and, in short, subjected to all kinds of ill-treatment. It has been seldom their good fortune to receive sympathetic help and guidance, while being always liable to be found fault with. Local bodies in these circumstances have failed also to earn the good will and affection of the people, their taxation, direct and indirect, adding not a little to their unpopularity. It seemed as if it was really hopeless to expect any change in this soulless system in vogue, where none appeared to feel any interest whatsoever favourable to the living growth of the institution which Lord Ripon's Government did their very best to start into life. Lord Morley's reiteration of the principles of 1882 and the emphatic manner in which he has declared himself in their favour now, coupled with the expression of his intention in regard to the future of the local self-government, have, therefore, come at a most opportune moment. We trust that at least now a spirit of active help and co-operation will be shown by the powers that be and an earnest and whole-hearted endeavour made to carry out the programme of 1882.

VI. MISCELLANEOUS.

5. The INDIAN PATRIOT, of the 21st September, writes:--

The Madras Congress.

". . . . All the most prominent Congressmen in different parts of India will be present; and perhaps it will be found that the Madras leaders, in determining the plan of the pavilion, very much

underrated the strength of the gathering. They had, however, to proceed with a modest estimate in view of the differences which had asserted themselves between the two schools of politics, and of the importance of ensuring a thoroughly successful session; and although a large number of visitors may have to be excluded, the strength of the delegates will not be less than in previous years. The delegates will all be men elected by duly constituted electorates, and not by all kinds of public meetings as before. This forms an important advance in the constitutional development of the Congress, which, we have no doubt, will be steadily extended and completed in a very short time. . . . . . The only subject on which a difference of opinion is apt to arise is that part of the Calcutta resolution on the partition, which approved of boycott as respects Bengal. It is more a Bengal than an Indian question, and Bengal opinion will, indeed, be given due weight."

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

I. FOREIGN POLITICS.

The Bengalis and the Egyptians

6. The JARIDAH-E-ROZGAR, of the 19th December, publishes a translation of an article headed "The real patriots" from the AL-MUVAYYID (an Arabic daily of Cairo), in which a comparison is made between the Bengalis and the Egyptians. The said correspondent thinks that it is the Bengalis, alone who have got a real spirit of patriotism in them, and these idolators have made the best endeavours to obtain self-government. On the other hand, the Egyptians have not got this spirit in them. The JARIDAH, with reference to the above, observes that the learned correspondent has greatly erred in comparing the real state of India with that of Egypt. Every one is aware of the failures of and the sad calamities which have duly befallen the so-called Bengali patriots. If one can obtain self-government by such cowardly principles, then justice and order are indeed of no avail.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) General.

9. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 18th December, observes:--

The deportations in Bengal

It is said that the Bengal Government has deported a number of persons all on a sudden because it is afraid that their presence will hamper the efforts of the police in bringing to light the existence of many anarchist associations in Calcutta which, it has reason to think, have been doing their work from even before the partition of Bengal. Nodoubt it is quite necessary that the Government should take prompt and active steps to root out all anarchist associations. But the mere fact of the discovery of the existence of such associations will not be a sufficient ground for the sudden deportation of nine respectable men without either charging them with an offence or bringing them to trial. If these persons hamper those who may come forward as witnesses during the trial of anarchist crimes, they can also be tried and punished for it. But we cannot believe that they will commit such a folly, for it is unnatural to expect that aged men of education and status, respected by the people, will aid anarchism in any way. From the reply of Mr.Buchanan in the House of Commons to a question about these deportations, we see that the responsibility of this measure is thrown on the Provincial Governments. It is strange, indeed, that Lord Morley should, at this juncture, have taken a step, relying solely on the wisdom of the Provincial authorities. At this moment, when the reforms are expected to restore peace and order among the people, Lord Morley and Lord Minto could have shown their usual moderation and tact.

10. The NYAYABHIMANI, of the 17th Decembet, writes:--Certain

Was the Press Act necessary?

vain people say that it is only after the advent of the British Government that the Indians have any kind of liberty and lead unanxious lives. But all cultured people assert that poverty

took a strong hold of India and her people only after the British set their feet on her soil. Of these two statements, which is the correct one? Certainly, it is the latter, and thus can be well illustrated by a portion of the history of the British rule in India.

All civilised countries such as France and America regard the Press as a medium, pointing out the faults of the Government and the officials to the people and the grievances of the people to the Parliament. Our Indians also began journalism, only taking the cue from the nations. Our friends ~~also began~~ may remember that there was a dire famine in India some thirty years ago. During that period the Government not only stood aloof without helping the people in any way, but also increased the taxes to enable it to increase the salary of its officials. The editors of newspapers naturally criticised this conduct of the Government. But this exasperated instead of correcting the officials of Government and the latter secretly got a measure styled the "Native newspapers' Gagging Act" passed by the Viceroy's Council in 1878 on the pretext that these newspapers were creating hatred between the Government and the people. This Act made the position of the native editors so risky that some of them got severely punished for having spoken out the truth and some others entirely stopped their papers, while some more refrained altogether from publishing true facts. Seeing all this, the patriots of those days met together and prepared and sent up a memorial to the Parliament, protesting against this "Gagging Act". The then Minister in England was the brother of our Lord Morley and so he never paid any heed to this memorial. But his successor, Mr.Gladstone, realised the evil effects of the measure complained against and replaced the haughty Viceroy who had passed it by Lord Ripon. This nobleman made it his duty to do good to the natives of the land and repealed the "Gagging Act" in 1882, saying that it was only the officials who prevented all people living happily under one Government and not the editors of newspapers that were real seditionists. This is not the only good he did to the people of India, and yet

the petitions submitted by the Indians for an extension of his office as Viceroy for some more time were rejected. But such an extension was recently granted to Lord Curzon who was hated by the people here.

Coming to the present period, the Governor-General, under the misapprehension that the native newspapers were helping the SWADESHI movement and creating in the people an ill-feeling against the White officials, has repeated the "Gagging Act" of 1878 with even greater restrictions. At this juncture, even Lord Morley stands aloof without coming to the help of the people. Are these two persons wiser than Lord Ripon? Does it not show their narrowness of mind that they have so hastily passed an Act without having noted the arguments adduced by Lord Ripon against it? Then again, it was alleged that the manufacture of bombs was the outcome of the seditious writings in native newspapers. But after the passing of this Act, many native newspapers have stopped and the few that remain are conducted quite in accordance with this Act. Still has the manufacture of the bombs been stopped? No. On the other hand, it is only increasing day by day. Does this not clearly establish that there is no connection between the native newspapers and the manufacture of these bombs?

So, if Lord Minto will study the speech of Lord Ripon against the retention of the "Gagging Act" and if Lord Morley will follow the course adopted by Mr.Galdstone then, they will themselves come to know that there was no necessity at all for passing such an Act now.

12. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 19th December, writes:--

The reform of Lord Morley.

The long-expected reforms were published in yesterday's papers and they have given us--and doubtless to every one else--entire satisfaction and much pleasure. Lord Morley has realised that incomplete attempts at reform will not be of any avail now and the reforms suggested by him are based on broad principles and

and are such as to satisfy the wishes and aspiractions of the Indians. If we accept these reforms with a full heart and conduct ourselves in such a way as to help the fulfilment of the objects of these reforms, we are sure to have reforms on a still broader basis very soon.

The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 21st December, xxxxxx observes:- As we expected, the reforms of Lord Morley have given entire satisfaction throughout India. Though some recent acts and speeches of Lord Morley discouraged even those who knew his farsightedness, culture and statesmanship, they did not completely lose confidence in him. He has now confirmed his reputation for learning and strength of will by the reforms he has introduced. We can surely assert that hereafter discontented and anarchist ideas will completely disappear and a satisfactory relationship will be established between the rulers and the ruled, which will become stronger by day by day. That even the Province of Bengal, which has, of late, been the important scene of unrest and anarchy, has expressed great satisfaction at these reforms is a clear proof of their merits. Even in the House of Commons these reforms were received well, and it is satisfactory to see that even Lord Landsdowne, a former Viceroy of India and the Foreign Secretary in the Conservative Government, had nothing but praise for the Government of Lord Minto, though he did not quite agree with the latter in that the Provincial Legislative Councils should be enlarged, increasing the Indian element in it, and that Indians should enter the Executive Councils.

The HINDU NESAN, of the 21st December, says:--Quite contrary to the doubts entertained by many that no reforms may after all be introduced in the administration, owing to the present disturbed state of the country, the Secretary of State has now issued his reforms, entirely justifying our faith in his affection and sympathy towards our people.

The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 22nd December, says:--It is stated that Lord Morley feels glad that his reforms have been received in India with the satisfaction, and when the Parliament meets

in March next, even this assembly will gladly note the effect of the reforms in India. At that time at least, we hope Lord M Morley will carry out the other necessary reforms, and one of these is the abolition of the partitbion of Bengal.. Though the present reforms have given satisfaction to all of us, the Bengal papers, retired officials in Bengal like Justice Mitra and even such men as Sir Pherozha Mehta and Gokhale have expressed their opinion that this must also have formed part of the reforms. In view of the complete restoration of order in India, Lord Morley will do well to change this hitherto "settled fact." One of the grounds of this partition was that Bengal was too big to be administered by a single Lieutenant-Governor. But the proposed reforms give an Executive Council to this official and so the administration of that province will become easier, the burden of it being shared by the members of the Council. Therefore it is not difficult to bring all the Bengalee-speaking population under one Government and satisfy the people of Bengal. If, in addition to this, Lord Morley will also condescend to release all the political prisoners, complete peace will be restored not only in Bengal, but in every other province.

The reforms of Lord Morley.

The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 22nd December, writes:--Though we were, for the last twenty-five years, demanding through the Congress that reforms should be introduced in our Government, we never expected that we would have such wide and important reforms, and especially we never believed that the Indians would be given a place in the Executive Councils. Apart from the immediate results of these reforms, they will form the basis for further reforms in the future and ultimately help the Indian people to become united and great like the Japanese. We have got these reforms only because Lord Morley is our Secretary of State, and it is a Liberal Ministry that is at the head of the Government. We could never have had these if the Government were Convservative or even if a Liberal like Sir Henry Fowler were our Secretary of State. Now that these reforms have given a proper share in

Government to the representatives of the people, there is no longer room for us to complain that the Goverment is not paying any heed to our prayers.

The VIJYA, of the 26th December, observes:--After all, how have these reforms benefited the lower classes? Every day, poverty is increasing in the land and livelihood is becoming more and more difficult. But can these reforms remove this suffering? No doubt these ~~all~~ will, in a small degree, remove the distinction, that now exists, between class and calss. But they do not improve the status of those who form the basis of society--the agriculturists and the artisans. There is nothing in them to bring about an increase in the quantity of provisions in the country or even to stop the exportation of grains from this country, and it is only reforms that bring about these results that will satisfy the masses. If our big wigs, who think it beneath their dignity ~~to~~ even to associate with the poorer classes, get seats in the Governor's Council, it will not give food to the famishing poor. A position which does not help to relieve the distress of the people is only a false position. It is stated that a Mopillah, who saw the Queen's Proclamation of 1858, observed, "We have had many promises like this till now. But my doubt is how the Queen, living 5,000 miles away, will be able to carry out her wishes here The doubt of this Mopillah has proved true indeed; because the Queen's promises are yet to be fulfiled. We hope that Lord Morley's reforms at least will take shape instead of becoming waste paper along with previous despatches.

The recent reforms.

13. Referring to the reforms promulgated in the recent Despatch of Lord Morley, the ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, of the 19th December, ~~writes~~ observes:--The public will undoubtedly feel highly rejoiced at such important boons. They deserve the appreciation of even the "Extremists". There will no longer be any obstacles for granting more boons. Is there anything that

we could do if such boons even were not so graciously granted to us? We can do nothing but cry for them. There are, indeed, strict laws prohibiting even such cries. What can the disconten-ted persons do then? It is absolutely desirable that they should give up anarchic acts and thoughts and rest contented. We pray the Government will pardon such persons as have been sentenced to imprisonment, etc., for having out of discontent made thoughtless speeches and committed thoughtless deeds because the said boons had not been granted.

The recent reforms.

Referring to the recent reforms of India, the SASILEKHA, of the 22nd December, observes:- Ever since Lord Morley became the Secretary of State for India, the results of the administra-tion of Lord Curzon have manifested themselves. The discontent and displeasure of the Bengalees at the English rule in India increased. Lord Morley gave his sanction for severe measures which were enforced rigorously. Our countrymen became quite dispaired of all hope for India, because Lord Morley himself had done so. But, however, he has taken much interest and consulted many prominent persons and our Viceroy, and endeavoured to improve the administration of India associating some of our great men in the government of the country. At last he sent a despatch promulgating the recent reforms, recommended by the Viceroy-in-Council. If the Indians hereafter improve their education and character and conduct themselves properly, evincing gratitude for the English government, the government of the country will eventually be in our own hands.

The Indian reforms.

14. A sub leader in the KERALA PATRIKA, of the 19th Decem-ber referring to the reforms proposed to be introduced into the administration of the country, says that these reforms, as they are present, are highly beneficial to the country.

15. The ANDHRADESARANJANI, of the 10th December (received on the 26th December), observes:

Indian National Congress.

Why should the Extremists be too anxious about the resolutions on boycott, SWADESHI, national education and partition of Bengal? We also hold that these resolutions are necessary, but it is not our opinion to force them on those who are not prepared to accept them. The proper course for them is to secure those resolutions by taking to the Congress a very large number of delegates holding the same views and by obtaining a majority of votes. If we fail to secure a majority, we must keep quiet. If we gain it, the opposition, must keep quiet. This is the principle that guides meetings. It is not fair to force one's views on others and get away from the meeting if they are not accepted. If many persons holding the same views as we, attend the Congress, why should not our resolutions be carried? Is it not madness that they should be required to be carried, when there is no majority on our side? (As for the remark that the Congress to be held at Madras is not a national one as it does not admit delegates who do not accept the creed, the advocates of that view do not seem to be acquainted with the history of the world. According to their principle, the Parliament in England and the Congress in America cannot be said to be national assemblies as the members thereof have to take oath when joining them that they would abide by the rules of those assemblies. Some might say that the Madras Congress has been convened by some of the Congressmen who assembled at Surat, and not by all.) We know of good movements set on foot by a few persons only, and others joining them and introducing necessary reforms gradually. After the trouble at Surat, it was thought impossible to get on with the Congress in future, without certain rules and regulations and 800 delegates met and settled a plan of action. We must all accept it and try to improve it to the best of our ability. Those who have the welfare of the country at heart should not wrangle over petty affairs.

III. LEGISLATION.

16. A sub-leader in the KERALA PATRIKA, of the 19th December approves of the passing of the Act for the more speedy trial of anarchical offences and for the suppression of associations dangerous to public peace and remarks that although the opinion expressed by the Hon'ble Dr.Rash Behari Ghose, that this coercive measure should, if necessary, have followed and not preceded the promulgation of the proposed reforms, is in one way reasonable, yet as the continuance of these anarchical crimes unchecked, will be fought with danger to the country, the Government is justified in passing such a measure. In framing such measures, certain provisions may seem to be too severe, but considering the circumstances of the case they are unavoidable. But it is a matter for regret that innocent and respectable persons should be obliged to undergo inconvenience for the evil deeds of a few wicked persons.

The new Crimes Act.

The MANORAMA, of the 18th December, while approving of the above measure, remarks that although it is necessary that anarchist should be dealt with severely and expeditiously, yet Government should take particular care not to implicate innocent persons along with the real offenders.

VI. MISCELLANEOUS.

17. A leader in the MITAVADI, of the 20th December, referring to the Venugopal Chetti matrimonial case and to the outcry raised in some quarters that Government should take notice of the matter and punish Mr.Chetti, says that Government may do as they please in Mr.Chetti's case, but it is high time for Government ~~xx~~ to take measures to put a stop to the perpetration of the same injustice by Europeans in India which Mr. Chetti is accused of as having committed in England. The a says that certain Europeans in India after consorting with native women for some time, either forsake them and the chil

Europeans consorting with native women.

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